

# DAILY REPORT

*People's Republic of China*

Vol I No 52 Supp 1

16 March 1978

## MATERIAL ON FIFTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

(26 February-5 March 1978)

(This supplement is a special compilation of major reports and documents made available by Chinese Communist media during the congress. These, as well as other materials on the congress, were published previously on a day-to-day basis in the regular PRC DAILY REPORT from 27 February through 10 March.)

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# DAILY REPORT

Supplement

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ORIGINAL

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

MATERIAL ON FIFTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

(26 February -5 March 1978)

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MATERIAL ON FIFTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Presidium List

OW251234Y Peking NCNA in English 1213 GMT 25 Feb 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 25 Feb (HSINHUA)--A preliminary meeting of the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress held at the Great Hall of the People here this afternoon. The meeting adopted the list of the members of the Presidium and secretary-general of the current session. The list reads as follows:

The Presidium: (254 members)

Hua Kuo-feng,

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Yu Kuang-yuan, Tsaidan Choma (female), Wan Li, Ma Li, Ma Wen-jui, Ma Chun-ku, Ma Heng-chang, Ma Hao-chien, Wang Ping, Wang Pi-cheng, Wang Yun-sheng, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Kun-lun, Wang Chien-an, Wang Shou-tao, Wang En-mao, Wang Kan-chang, Wang Chien, Wang Jui-chang, Wang Chen, Tien Pao, Wei Kuo-ching, Ou Tang-liang (f.), Yu Tai-chung, Pei Shih-chang, Mao Wen-shu (f.), Mao Ti-chiu, Mao Chih-yung, Ulanfu, Fang I, Pa I-kai, Pa Chin, Teng Hsiao-ping, Teng Chu-min, Teng Tien-tao, Teng Ying-chao (f.), Yujung (f.), Kan Wei-han, Shih Chung-chin (f.), Lu Sheng-ho, Yeh Sheng-tao, Yeh Chien-ying, Yeh Hung-hai, Tien Fu-ta, Shih Lai-ho, Shih Liang (f.), Pai Ju-ping, Pai Shou-i, Pak Chun Za (f.), Pi Ken (f.), Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Shu-hsiang, Lu Chi, Chu Kuang-ya, Chu Hsueh-fan, Chu Yun-shan, Chiao Hsiao-kuang, Wu Chan, Jen Jung, Hua Lo-keng, Hsiang Chung-hua, Hsiang La-yu (f.), Chuang Hsi-chuan, Liu Tzu-hou, Liu Po-cheng, Liu Chien-hsun, Liu Fei, Kuan Shan-yueh, Chiang Li-yin, Chiang Hua, Chiang Wei-ching, An Ping-sheng, Hsu Shih-yu, Hsu Chieh, Hsu Ti-hsin, Hsu Chia-tun, Hsu Te-heng, Namula, Sun Ching-wen, Chi Teng-kuei, Yen Yu-min, Yen Chi-tzu, Yen Chia-an, Lu Kuo-chun, Keyum Matniyaz, Su Pu-ching, Su Chen-hua, Li Jen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Li Ya-min (f.), Li Chen (f.), Li Hsien-nien, Li Chang, Li Chiang, Li Jui-shan, Li Fu-chung, Li Chu-kuei, Li Te-sheng, Yang Tung-chun, Yang Li-kung, Yang Yung-ching (f.), Yang Cheng-wu, Yang I-chen, Yang Yung, Yang Te-chih, Yang Ching-jen, Hsiao Hua, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Hsien-feng, Wu Ko-hua, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Cheng-ching, Wu Te, Wu Yao-tsung, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Wang Yueh-hsia (f.), Wang Tung-hsing, Wang Feng, Sha Chien-li, Shen Yen-ping, Sung Ping, Sung Jen-chiung, Soong Ching Ling (f.), Chang Wen-yu, Chang Cheng-tao, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Ting-fa, Chang Ping-kuei, Chang Chin-pang, Chang Kuei-chen (f.), Chang Ai-ping, Chang Ting-cheng, Chang Fu-tsai, Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Ayitula (f.), Chen Yun, Chen Chung-wei, Chen Yu-niang (f.), Chen Yung-kuei, Chen Tsai-tao, Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Hsiao-shun, Chen I-sung, Chen Ching-jun, Chen Teng-ko, Chen Hsi-lien, Chen Fu-han, Chen Mu-hua (f.), Chen Chih, Fan Chung-chih, Mao I-sheng, Lin I-shan, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Li-yun (f.), Lin I-ping, Lin Tieh, Lin Hui-ching (f.), Lo Ching-chang, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Lo Jui-ching, Pa-pa-la-ko-lieh-lang-chieh, Chi Fang, Yueh Mei-chung, Chin Ju-po, Chou Chan-ao, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Chien-jen, Chou Hai-ying, Cheng Tien-hsiang, Meng Chi-mao, Chao Yung-huan, Chao Pu-chu, Chao Hsin-chu, Chao Chung-yao, Chao Tzu-yang, Chao Yen-hsia (f.), Hao Shu-tsai, Jung I-jen, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Chiao-mu, Hu Chi-wei, Hu Sheng, Hu Chueh-wen, Hu Yu-chih, Hu Yao-pang, Tuan Su-chuan, Hou Chan-yu, Hou Pao-lin, Hung Hsueh-chih, Chu Hsing-fa, Fei I-ming, Chin Chi-wei, Yuan Jen-yuan, Keng Piao, Nieh Jung-chen, Mo Wen-hua, Chien San-chiang, Chien Hsueh-sen, Tieh Ying, Ni Chih-fu, Ni Ku-yin (f.), Hsu Hsiang-chien, Kao Hou-liang, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Lan-ying (f.), Kuo Lin-hsiang, Kuo Mo-fo, Tang Ko-pi (f.), Hai Yu-chen, Tao Chih-yueh, Chi Peng-fei, Tsomo (f.), Huang Hua, Huang Ping-wei, Huang Chu-hsiang (f.), Chang Hsiang-yu (f.), Sheng Wan (f.), Kang Ko-ching (f.), Liang Pi-yeh, Liang Chi-chuan, Peng Chung, Tung Tien-chen, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Su Yu, Cheng Tzu-hua, Chiao Lin-i, Tung Ti-chou, Tseng Sheng, Tseng Shao-shan, Tseng Ssu-yu, Hsieh Ping-hsin (f.), Hsieh Ming, Hsieh Tieh-li, Jui Pan, Chu Tu-nan, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, I Shih-chuan (f.), Yung Wen-tao, Tsai Chang (f.), Pei Chang-hui, Liao Han-sheng, Liao Chih-kao, Liao Cheng-chih, Saifudin, Tan Chi-lung, Tan Cheng, Tan Shan-ho, Tan Chen-lin, Phanthog (f.), Huo Shih-lien and Tai Nien-tzu, and the secretary-general: Li Hsien-nien.



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### Credentials Committee Members

OW251320Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 1317 GMT 25 Feb 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 25 Feb--The following is the namelist of the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Credentials Committee of the Fifth NPC:

Chairman: Chi Teng-kuei.

Vice Chairmen: Hu Yao-pang, Li Chiang, Liang Pi-yeh, Chu Yun-shan.

Members: (In the order of the number of strokes in their surnames) Yu Ming-tao; Ma Chun-kui; Wang Yun-sheng; Tien Pao; Jen Chung-i; Chuang Hsi-chuan; Sun Kuo-chih; Sun Chi-meng; Yen Yu-min; Tu Hsing-yuan; Li Kuei; Yang Ching-jen; Wu Hsin-yu; Mao I-sheng; Lin Li-yun, female; Chi Fang; Chou Chan-ao; Cheng Tien-hsiang; Kuei Pi; Chien Hsin-chung; Tieh-mu-erh Ta-wa-mai-ti; Kuo Feng-lien, female; Kang Ko-ching, female; Liang Chi-chuan; Chiang Nan-hsiang and Chu Tu-nan.

### First Session Opens

OW261202Y Peking NCNA in English 1200 GMT 26 Feb 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 26 Feb (HSINHUA)--The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China opened here this afternoon.

On the backdrop of the rostrum in the magnificent Great Hall of the People were huge color portraits of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

Sitting on the rostrum at today's opening ceremony were executive chairmen of the Presidium of the session Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Wang Tung-hsing, Soong Ching-ling, Nieh Jung-chen, Ulanfu, Wu Te, Wei Kuo-ching, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Saifudin, Liao Cheng-chih, Chi Peng-fei, Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Te-heng and Hu Chueh-wen. A thunderous ovation rocked the hall when they mounted the rostrum.

At three pm Yeh Chien-ying, executive chairman of today's meeting, declared the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress open. A band struck up the national anthem. All the deputies observed a silence in memory of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung, the esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The session then took up the first item on its agenda.

Premier Hua Kuo-feng of the State Council made a report on the work of the government, which is entitled: "Unite and Strive To Build a Modern and Powerful Socialist Country".

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's report on the work of the government, which lasted three and a half hours, drew thunderous applause.

A total of 3,456 deputies attended today's meeting.

Leading members of the departments under the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Chinese People's Liberation Army attended the meeting as observers.

All members of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference which is in its first session in Peking also attended the meeting as observers.

## Hua Kuo-feng 26 February Report

OW061454Y Peking NONA in English 1451 OMT 6 Mar 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 6 Mar (HSINHUA) --Unite and Strive To Build a Modern, Powerful Socialist Country!

Report on the work of the government delivered at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress on February 26, 1978 by Hua Kuo-feng:

Fellow deputies, on behalf of the State Council I will now make a report on the work of the government to the Fifth National People's Congress.

The report is divided into six parts: (1) The Struggle Over the Last Three Years and the General Task for the New Period; (2) Carry Through to the End the Struggle To Expose and Criticize the "Gang of Four"; (3) Speed Up Socialist Economic Construction; (4) Develop Socialist Science, Education and Culture; (5) Consolidate Our Political Power and Strengthen the Great Unity of the People of All Nationalities; and (6) The International Situation and China's Foreign Policy.

The general theme of the report is: Unite and strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

The Struggle Over the Last Three Years and the General Task for the New Period

Since the Fourth National People's Congress our country has gone through a severe test in sharp and complex struggles between the two classes and between the two lines. Led by the Chinese Communist Party, the people of our country finally smashed the anti-party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan after repeated and intense trials of strength. This tremendous victory marked the successful conclusion of China's first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a new period of development in its socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The eleventh national congress of our party held year comprehensively summed up the party's struggle against the "gang of four". It was truly a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a decisive and historic battle. The crux of the struggle was whether to uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line or to follow the gang's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, whether to persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat or to institute a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, whether to make China a prosperous, modern and powerful socialist country or to reduce it to its former semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. It was around these focal questions that we waged one soul-stirring struggle after another against the gang.

The preparation and convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress was an important round in the struggle. Prior to the congress we had crushed the Lin Biao anti-party clique, and in August 1973 we convened the tenth party congress. The situation throughout the country was most encouraging. At that point Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the party decided to make preparations for the Fourth National People's Congress, which was to elect or decide on the leading personnel of the state so as to consolidate and carry forward the victories won in the Cultural Revolution. The congress was to be a very important one.

The "gang of four", which had worked most closely with the Lin Piao Anti-party clique, surfaced at this juncture and ran amuck in their attempt to usurp supreme state power. In 1974, taking advantage of the campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they sprang a surprise attack and whipped up counter-revolutionary opinion in order to usurp party and state power. They directed the spearhead of their assault against the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and feverishly opposed Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying, trying to overthrow a large number of leading cadres at the national and local levels. Their interference and sabotage made it impossible for many local party, government and military departments to perform their normal functions. In some places the leadership was actually seized by the gang's henchmen and, as a result, capitalism became rampant, the socialist economy suffered serious damage, and science, education and culture sustained tremendous losses. Criticizing their disruptive activities, Chairman Mao declared in clear terms: "EIGHT YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION STARTED. NOW IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE STABILITY. THE WHOLE PARTY AND THE WHOLE ARMY SHOULD GET UNITED." And he repeatedly instructed us to "PUSH THE NATIONAL ECONOMY FORWARD." However, the gang stubbornly worked against these instructions and, what's more, they stepped up their scheme to exploit the convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress to "set up their own cabinet." Chairman Mao promptly exposed their intrigues and made the pointed remark that Chiang Ching had wild ambitions. He forbade her to make public appearances, write instructions on documents or organize a cabinet. Chairman Mao had boundless trust in our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou and said explicitly: "THE PREMIER IS STILL OUR PREMIER". He decided that Premier Chou should be responsible for personnel arrangements in connection with the Fourth National People's Congress and the State Council, and that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping should assist the premier in drafting the report on the work of the government. The successful convocation of the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975 frustrated the gang's plot to form their own cabinet and dealt a crushing blow to their criminal activities aimed at usurping party and state power.

After the Fourth National People's Congress, our struggle with the "gang of four" became more intense. It was a struggle over whether to implement or to sabotage a number of Chairman Mao's important instructions. The essence of his instructions on the eve of the congress was that we should consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, promote nationwide stability and unity and push the national economy forward. It was in accordance with these instructions that at the first session of the congress Premier Chou called upon the whole nation to unit more closely, adhere to the party's basic line and strive to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century. Premier Chou's clarion call fired the revolutionary zeal of the people in their hundreds of millions. In these circumstances, the "gang of four" took to tampering with Chairman Mao's directive concerning the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in their counter-revolutionary attempt to usurp party and state power. They went to all lengths to spread the counter-revolutionary nonsense that "empiricism is the main danger at present" and once again indulged in splittist activities and devised all kinds of schemes and plots, with the spearhead directed against Premier Chou and a large number of leading party, government and army cadres. In view of the gang's interference and sabotage, Chairman Mao repeatedly criticized them for violating the fundamental principles of "PRACTISE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE," and time and again he warned them, "DON'T FUNCTION AS A GANG OF FOUR." Acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee sternly criticized the gang.

Meanwhile, the Central Committee of the party and the State Council convened important conferences such as those on rail freight and traffic, the metallurgical industry, and the national defence industries, the enlarged conference of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and the First National Conference on Learning From Tachai in Agriculture. Firm and effective measures were taken to consolidate the leading bodies at all levels, implement the party's policies, criticize bourgeois factionalism, mobilize the masses to combat urban and rural capitalist forces and initiate a programme of readjusting our work in industry, agriculture, finance and trade, science and education and in the army so as to eliminate the dire effects of the gang's interference and sabotage. These measures taken by the Central Committee won warm response and support throughout the country. Distinct successes were chalked up in all fields, and the economy began to take a turn for the better.

Then, to our deep grief our beloved Premier Chou passed away in January 1976. About this time, the "gang of four", in their anxiety to seize all power in the party, the government and the army, mounted a ferocious counter-attack. This touched off another struggle that was fraught with serious consequences. They resorted to various intrigues, persecuted and cracked down on large numbers of cadres and people for mourning Premier Chou's death and trumped up charges against Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping. They completely denied our achievements in all fields in 1975, slandering the implementation of Chairman Mao's instructions as pushing a "revisionist programme", branding the consolidation in different spheres of work as "all-round restoration" and vilifying the building of a powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology as "going capitalist". They fabricated lies, framed up charges and viciously attacked the leading comrades of the State Council in an attempt to cripple its work and that of the central departments. They wielded the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces" as a big stick to club the numerous cadres and people who persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production. They fondly hoped they could thus paralyze the whole economy. Their criminal aim was to create country-wide confusion and seize power in the process. Chairman Mao wisely and resolutely took emergency measures at the end of January 1976. On his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, personnel decisions were taken concerning the acting premiership of the State Council and responsibility for the day-to-day work of the Central Committee. Then, early in April, again on his proposal and after discussion and approval by the Political Bureau, a decision was taken on the choice of the first vice-chairman of the Central Committee and premier of the State Council. Chairman Mao's great strategic decisions struck hard at the gang's plot to usurp party and state power, and laid the groundwork for our subsequent settlement of the question of the "gang of four". But they would not take their defeat lying down. They stirred up trouble everywhere with a tenfold fanaticism and a hundredfold hatred. They even openly dished up a counter-revolutionary political programme equating veteran cadres with "democrats" and "democrats" with "capitalist-roaders" at all levels from the central down to the local. It was a futile attempt to overthrow all the leading cadres of the party, government and army who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The vast majority of the Central Committee, united as one and adhering to principle, waged resolute struggles against the "gang of four". Tempered in the Cultural Revolution, large numbers of cadres, people and PLA commanders and men demonstrated a high degree of awareness in the struggle between the two lines. Their indignation at the gang's perverted acts knew no bounds. They put up all forms of resistance and opposition and stood up to pressure with revolutionary dauntlessness.



In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao left us forever. Profound grief gripped the people of all nationalities. They were full of anxiety for the future. At this crucial juncture the "gang of four" took advantage of the grave difficulties facing our party, country and people and quickened the tempo of their counterrevolutionary machinations to usurp supreme party and state power. They conspired to sever the contact between the Central Committee and the localities, and urged people to write letters to Chiang Ching pledging allegiance and imploring her to take over supreme power. There were hectic goings on at the time to prepare for the gang's ascension to power in full make-up, and surreptitious manoeuvres were underway for the "suppression of counter-revolutionaries" and "executions." Still more sinister was their forgery, "act upon the principles laid down," which they claimed to be Chairman Mao's "death-bed injunction." They slanderously accused the Central Committee of "tampering with the principles laid down by Chairman Mao," thus openly inciting the overthrow of the Central Committee. They were spoiling for action and raring to stage a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. At this moment, when everything hung by a thread, the Central Committee acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's behest and the common aspirations and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities and smashed the "gang of four" in one stroke on October 6, 1976. The whole nation was jubilant, it enthusiastically hailed our party for winning a decisive victory in the eleventh major struggle between the two lines.

Looking back at this period of our history, we can see that the destiny of our party and country hinged on the struggle against the "gang of four." This counter-revolutionary clique of conspirators exploited the positions and power they had usurped to collect landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as a small band of careerists, renegades, newborn counter-revolutionary elements, gangsters and smash-and-grabbers to make havoc of the party, army and country. They practised fascist dictatorship and ruthlessly persecuted revolutionary cadres and people. They sabotaged the national economy and disrupted socialist construction in every field. The consequences were extremely grave. As a result of their interference and sabotage between 1974 and 1976 the nation lost about 100 billion yuan in total value of industrial output, 28 million tons of steel, and 40 billion yuan in state revenues, and the whole economy was on the brink of collapse. In some regions and departments where bad characters were in power because of the gang's support, protection and connivance, production came to a standstill in factories, land was parcelled out to peasant households for individual farming, corruption, embezzlement and profiteering became widespread, class enemies went berserk, unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements attempted to recover lost privileges and seek revenge, and in some cases there was even capitalist restoration. Had this situation been allowed to go on, our country would have changed colour and our people would have suffered grave disasters. The smashing of the "gang of four" averted a major split in the party and a major retrogression in our country's history, and thus enabled our people to continue their advance along the socialist road charted by Chairman Mao.

In the past year the Central Committee of the party, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, took the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land, and on a national scale initiated and led a great political revolution--the campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four". In this tremendous struggle the Central Committee of the party and the State Council, grasping the key link as well as other links and using the key link to set everything else in motion, worked hard, adopted many effective measures, called a number of important meetings and lost no time in solving many pressing problems resulting from the gang's interference and sabotage.

In overcoming the serious difficulties created by the gang, cadres and people in vast numbers have shown revolutionary heroism and an unyielding fighting will; this spirit is invaluable. Through the joint efforts of the party, the army and the people of all nationalities major victories have been won and profound changes have taken place on all fronts.

Because we have destroyed the bourgeois factional setup of the "gang of four" and their followers, recovered that portion of power usurped by them and repudiated their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, our Central Committee and our party and state organizations are now purer, stronger and more united than ever and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Central Committee's policies can now be successfully implemented in all spheres.

Having shattered the mental manacles the gang tried to fasten on them, our people are now bold in their thinking and high in their political consciousness. Inspired and jubilant, they are bursting with enthusiasm to work for socialism.

Having foiled the gang's plot to destroy our army, our great wall, the PLA is resolute in implementing Chairman Mao's line on army building and in promoting its glorious tradition. It is showing zeal in military and political training and in making preparations against war, and is progressing towards its goal of revolutionization and modernization.

Having destroyed the gang's "iron and steel and hat factories" and condemned its crime of savagely attacking and persecuting them, our cadres are displaying renewed revolutionary spirit. They are now more vigorous and bolder in their thinking, speech and action than ever before.

We have dealt telling blows to those landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements trying to recover their lost privileges and seek revenge and to criminals who have seriously disrupted public order. We have dealt telling blows to the smash-and-grabbers, corrupt elements, embezzlers and profiteers. The revolutionary spirit of the proletariat is rising while the baleful influence of the bourgeoisie is on the wane. Order prevails throughout the country, and this has won the people's approval and applause.

Relations are closer than ever between the party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses, between the army and the government, between the army and the people, between the higher and the lower levels and between the various nationalities. Our revolutionary united front is becoming stronger and everywhere in the country there is a lively atmosphere of unity in struggle.

The economy, once in a state of stagnation or even decline and retrogression because of sabotage by the "gang of four", has turned the corner and is now on the path of steady growth and healthy development. The mass campaigns to learn from Taching in industry and from Tachai in agriculture are forging ahead and a new upsurge is already in sight.

On the scientific, educational and cultural fronts we have smashed the gang's fascist cultural autocracy and repudiated the counterrevolutionary fallacy of the so-called "two appraisals". (1) [footnotes appear at the end of the report] which they concocted, and we have thus kindled the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and created a lively and vigorous atmosphere.

In the international struggle, we strive to promote our relations with foreign countries and peoples in conformity with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds.



This has helped to broaden the international united front against hegemony and influence the international situation in a direction favourable to the people of the world. China's prestige is higher than ever.

All this amply shows that the call of the Central Committee for initial success within a year in carrying out the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land has been fully met, and that things are going better than expected. The whole nation is jubilant and revolutionary people the world over are happy for our sake. The Soviet revisionists who vainly hope that we will depart from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought accuse our state of being "unstable" and of "running up a blind alley". But their slanders have all been exploded in the face of hard facts. Let these pigmies go on ranting and raving. The great Chinese people will continue to forge valiantly ahead.

Fellow deputies: The overthrow of the "gang of four" is another great turning point in the history of our revolution. The general task facing our people in the new period of development in socialist revolution and socialist construction is firmly to carry out the line of the eleventh party congress, steadfastly continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and transform China into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.

Back in 1963, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out: "IN THE HUNDRED AND FIVE YEARS FROM THE EIGHTEEN-FORTIES TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEEN-FORTIES, ALMOST ALL THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, WHETHER LARGE, MEDIUM OR SMALL, COMMITTED AGGRESSION AGAINST OUR COUNTRY AND WAGED WAR AGAINST US. EXCEPT FOR THE LAST WAR, NAMELY, THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPAN, WHICH RESULTED IN THE SURRENDER OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM OWING TO INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CAUSES, ALL THESE WARS ENDED IN OUR DEFEAT AND THE SIGNING OF TREATIES WITH HUMILIATING TERMS. THAT WAS DUE TO TWO FACTORS, FIRST, A CORRUPT SOCIAL SYSTEM AND, SECOND, A BACKWARD ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY. NOW OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM HAS CHANGED AND A BASIC SOLUTION HAS OCCURRED AS FAR AS THE FIRST FACTOR IS CONCERNED. BUT THE SOLUTION IS STILL INCOMPLETE, BECAUSE CLASS STRUGGLE STILL EXISTS. THERE IS SOME CHANGE TOO IN REGARD TO THE SECOND FACTOR, BUT IT WILL REQUIRE SEVERAL MORE DECADES TO BRING ABOUT A COMPLETE CHANGE. IF IN THE DECADES TO COME WE DON'T COMPLETELY CHANGE THE SITUATION IN WHICH OUR ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY LAG FAR BEHIND THOSE OF THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO AVOID BEING PUSHED AROUND AGAIN." And he added, "IN PLANNING OUR WORK WE SHOULD START FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING ATTACKED AND DO OUR UTMOST TO CHANGE THE BACKWARD STATE OF OUR ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY IN NOT TOO LONG A PERIOD OF TIME, OTHERWISE WE WILL MAKE MISTAKES."

Chairman Mao here summed up the history of imperialist aggression against China and our people's struggle against it over the past century. He regarded the transformation of our economic and technological backwardness as a question of life and death for the nation, bringing into sharp relief the importance and urgency of socialist construction.

In studying Chairman Mao's teachings afresh, we can all see more clearly than ever that the socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is not merely an important economic task, it is, above all, an urgent political task. Internationally, since the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are locked in a fierce struggle for world domination, war is bound to break out sooner or later. The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating our country. We must race against time to strengthen ourselves economically and heighten our defence capabilities at top speed. For this is the only way to cope effectively with possible social-imperialist and imperialist aggression against us. Domestically, speeding up socialist modernization in the above four fields is likewise highly important. Only thus can we further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on a new basis and enhance the power of the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie and of socialism for victory over capitalism. Only thus can we steadily raise the level of the people's material and cultural life and gradually eliminate the distinctions between town and country, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual labour. And only thus can we fully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration.

To speed up socialist modernization in the four fields, we must be steadfast in grasping class struggle as the key link and persist in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. We must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and fully recognize that throughout the historical period of socialist society classes, class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads all exist and that this struggle is protracted and complicated. We must be good at correctly handling not only the problem of classes, class contradictions and class struggle but also contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people. We must keep up the work of reforming the superstructure where it does not correspond with the economic base and the relations of production where they do not correspond with growing productive forces. We must conduct intensive socialist education in order to oppose and prevent revisionism. We must adhere to the principle, "GRASP REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION AND OTHER WORK AND PREPAREDNESS AGAINST WAR," simultaneously press on with the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. To tackle production and scientific experiment without at the same time waging class struggle will not lead to success to the two former, since in that case it would be impossible to keep to the socialist orientation, foster stability and unity, sweep away the obstacles to the four modernizations and activate the revolutionary spirit of the people. But to wage class struggle without at the same time carrying on the struggle for production and scientific experiment will not do either, since in that case the four modernizations would be just so much idle talk and support for the party line would consist of nothing but spurious avowals. We must be good at integrating the three revolutionary movements and persevere in them.

The overthrow of the "gang of four" has removed the biggest obstacle in the way of our advance. Under the strong leadership of the Central Committee, the people of all nationalities, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao and united as one, are going all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and work for socialism and will certainly hasten the transformation of China into a modern, powerful socialist country.

The accomplishment of the four modernizations in less than a quarter of a century in our socialist country having as it does one-fifth of the world population is an outstanding achievement not only in our own history but also in the history of the world. We must strive to fulfil the magnificent task history has placed on our shoulders.

Carry Through to the End the Struggle to Expose and Criticize the "Gang of Four"

The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and carry this great struggle through to the end. In deepening this struggle, we shall further clarify questions of right and wrong with regard to the political line, straighten things out in every field of endeavour, revive and foster our party's fine traditions and style of work, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grass-roots units so as to promote nation-wide stability and unity and achieve great order across the land. We shall thus achieve broad progress in all fields of socialist construction and within three years win marked and anticipated success in grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well, thereby consolidating and expanding the splendid achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Over the last year or so, the mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has been both sound and vigorous. The bourgeois factional setup of the gang and their followers has collapsed. Investigation into the individuals and incidents associated with the gang's conspiracy to usurp party and state power has in the main been completed in most of the localities and departments, and in their essential aspects the class alignments have become clear. By and large, the country-wide investigation has been successfully concluded. Of course, this does not mean that our work is finished. The development of the movement is uneven. In a few localities and units where it got off to a late start or where progress was unsatisfactory, investigation needs to be stepped up. Leadership must be strengthened particularly in those units where the "gang of four" had their fingers deep in the pie and where problems abound and resistance is strong, and investigation should be resolute and conscientious in accordance with the requirements of the Central Committee.

At present, the third campaign in the struggle to expose and criticize the gang is deepening throughout the country. To carry out this campaign successfully is a more arduous and long-term task. In the process of exposing and criticizing their counter-revolutionary political programme and the ultra-right essence of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and all its manifestations, people working on all fronts and in all localities and departments must closely link up the campaign with the specific situation in their own units. Fine results were gained in the recent mass discussion of the "ten needs and ten need nots" (2) carried out on the economic front, and in the PLA's educational programme concerning the "ten shoulds and ten should nots" (3) of the political line, as well as in the criticism of the gang's counter-revolutionary fallacy of the "two appraisals" conducted on the scientific, educational and cultural fronts. We must press on and deepen the campaign. People in all fields must concentrate on those matters where the gang's influence has been the deepest and the damage wrought has been the worst and, by waging an all-out people's war, clear up all the confusion created by the gang and rectify all their reversals of right and wrong. The aim is to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line correctly and comprehensively.



To lay bare the untra-right essence of the gang's revisionist line, it is imperative to make a penetrating criticism of the reactionary theory on which it was based. They falsified Marxism in all its three aspects, namely, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism and in particular, they completely corrupted Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and spread a host of anti-Marxist fallacies. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our weapon, we must conduct a profound criticism of all these fallacies on the theoretical plane, smash the gang's reactionary ideology and make a clean sweep of their pernicious influence.

The "gang of four" was made up of old and new counter-revolutionaries who had succeeded in concealing themselves most artfully and of counter-revolutionary double-dealers of the slickest kind. As was their wont, they used the Red flag to oppose the Red flag, flaunted the banner of opposing capitalist restoration to effect a capitalist restoration, shouted antirevisionist slogans while practising revisionism, and put on a revolutionary guise to cover up their true counter-revolutionary features. They pushed an extreme ultra-right line, which manifested itself in an ultra-left as well as in an ultra-right form. As a rule, it was when they struck an ultra-left pose that their capacity to deceive became quite great. We must thoroughly expose the gang's counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks, lay bare their reactionary features as real rightists masquerading as leftists and enhance our ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxists.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must do a thorough check-up on all our work. This includes party and government organizations, factories, mines and other enterprises, people's communes and brigades, shops, schools and colleges, and army units. The most important thing here is to consolidate the leading bodies at various levels and effectively solve the problem of impurity in ideology, organization and style of work, an impurity which exists in varying degrees and which is the result of the gang's interference and sabotage. Stress must be laid on ideological education to improve people's understanding of the political line and policies and, where necessary, there must also be organizational readjustments. Those who sold out to the gang and took part in its conspiracy to usurp party and state power must be duly dealt with. Leading bodies that are soft, lazy or lax must be readjusted, reinforced and strengthened. People who harbour wild ambitions, are politically bad and have an obnoxious style of work must not be allowed to fill posts in the leading bodies or be given important jobs. In accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors and the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young set forth by Chairman Mao, we must adopt effective measures and gradually build up leading bodies at all levels that will be nuclei resolutely implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintaining close ties with the masses and working with one mind. We must strengthen our political and ideological work, endeavour to build up our ranks and raise the political consciousness of the workers, peasants and intellectuals still higher and sharpen their sense of organization and discipline. And we must continue to pay close attention to implementing the party's policy on cadres. Many localities and departments have done a lot in this respect since the smashing of the gang. The slanders and false charges levelled by the gang at many cadres have been repudiated, and objective conclusions have been reached on those whose past records have been examined. But failing to realize the full importance of giving effect to the party's policy on cadres, some units have been rather languid and progress has been slow.

This state of affairs must be speedily changed and a real effort must be made to discharge this duty well. All cadres who are able to work should be assigned to suitable jobs as soon as possible. For those who are advanced in age and poor in health proper arrangements should be made and care and concern should be shown for them politically and in their livelihood.

Chairman Mao said: "THE TRANSFORMATION AND CONSTRUCTION OF CHINA DEPEND ON US FOR LEADERSHIP. WHEN WE HAVE RECTIFIED OUR WAY OF THINKING AND STYLE OF WORK, WE SHALL ENJOY GREATER INITIATIVE IN OUR WORK, BECOME MORE CAPABLE AND DO A BETTER JOB." For a long time, the "gang of four" corrupted our party's style of work and social values and seriously corroded people's thinking. We must liquidate the gang's pernicious influence and restore and promote the party's fine traditions and style of work, for example, seeking truth from the facts, following the mass line, being modest and prudent, keeping to plain living and hard work, making criticism and self-criticism, and wholeheartedly serving the people. We must actively commend meritorious deeds and models, evoke a fresh socialist spirit and encourage the masses to cultivate lofty revolutionary ideals, contribute to realizing the four modernizations and work for the glory of our socialist motherland. Our party, our country, our army and our people must all maintain a fine style of work. The fine traditions and style of work fostered by Chairman Mao and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries over long years of revolutionary struggle must spread and flourish throughout the Chinese nation and be handed down from generation to generation.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," a "double blow" movement, namely, a movement to deal blows both to the class enemies for their destructive activities and to the capitalist forces for their wild attacks, has unfolded on a large scale in some localities in connection with the struggle to expose and criticize the gang, with both town and country taking concerted action. It has yielded good results. Practice has shown that this revolutionary struggle waged to strike at the gang's social base is very important for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the protection of socialist public ownership and the acceleration of socialist construction. Taking its specific conditions into consideration, each locality should wage the struggle step by step under proper leadership and make it a success.

In the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four", it is imperative to implement conscientiously the policies laid down in the political report to the Eleventh Party Congress, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly. Stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study, and it is strictly forbidden to obtain confessions by compulsion and give them credence. Help more people by education and narrow the target of attack. Be strict in criticism and lenient in your verdicts. Be strict with those who resist and lenient with those who repent. Deal resolute blows to the handful of the gang's sworn followers who are guilty of heinous crimes and are unwilling to repent and to counter-revolutionaries guilty of subversive activities. As for those backbone elements who have made a clean break with the gang, owned up to their wrongdoings and shown readiness to repent, they can be treated leniently. In the case of comrades who have made mistakes, including serious mistakes, we must adhere to the principle of "LEARNING FROM PAST MISTAKES TO AVOID FUTURE ONES AND CURING THE SICKNESS TO SAVE THE PATIENT," and help them correct their mistakes. If they have done so, well and good.

Don't keep picking on them, and as early as possible let off those who can be let off. Chairman Mao said: "FOR THE REVOLUTION, IT IS ALWAYS BETTER TO HAVE MORE PEOPLE." We should try to win over all those that can be won over so as to unite over 95 per cent of the cadres and the masses.

The struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is in fact a vast movement of Marxist education. It is imperative to integrate the study of Marxist theory with the struggle and bring about a new upsurge in the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao throughout the party, army and nation. There should be an emulation drive among leading cadres at all levels, and among high-ranking cadres in particular, so that they can study better and have a broad and accurate grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. Study, criticism and summing up experience should be combined. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has held sway on all fronts throughout the past twenty-eight years, including the seventeen years prior to the Cultural Revolution. Despite the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and, in particular, the "gang of four", we should go in for investigation and study on a broad scale, objectively sum up our experience, whether positive or negative, get a clear idea of the specific line, principles, policies and methods in all spheres, revise or draw up rules and regulations for industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education and in the army, and institute and perfect systems for every branch which will fully embody Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and suit our conditions, so as to speed up our work in every field.

The revolutionary storm to expose and criticize the "gang of four" is sweeping away the dirt everywhere and heightening the revolutionary spirit of the broadest masses. We must persist in taking this gigantic class struggle as the key link and bring about a new upsurge in our socialist economic and cultural construction.

#### Speed Up Socialist Economic Construction

In order to make China a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century, we must work and fight hard in the political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic spheres, but in the final analysis what is of decisive importance is the rapid development of our socialist economy.

At the Third National People's Congress and again at the Fourth, Premier Chou, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, put forward a grand concept for the development of our national economy which calls for the all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology by the end of the century so that our economy can take its place in the front ranks of the world. By the end of this century, the output per unit of major agricultural products is expected to reach or surpass advanced world levels and the output of major industrial products to approach equal or outstrip that of the most developed capitalist countries. In agricultural production, the highest possible degree of mechanization, electrification and irrigation will be achieved. There will be automation in the main industrial processes, a major increase in rapid transport and communications services and a considerable rise in labour productivity. We must apply the results of modern science and technology on a broad scale, make extensive use of new materials and sources of energy, and modernize our major products and the processes of production. Our economic and technical norms must approach, equal or surpass advanced world levels.



As our social productive forces become highly developed, our socialist relations of production will be further improved and perfected, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country consolidated, our national defence strengthened, and our people's material well-being and cultural life substantially enriched. By then, China will have a new look and stand unshakably in the east as a modern, powerful socialist country.

The ten years from 1976 to 1985 are crucial for accomplishing these gigantic tasks. In the summer of 1975, the State Council held a meeting for an exchange of views to deliberate on a perspective long-term plan. On the basis of a mass of material furnished by investigation and study, it worked out a draft outline of a ten-year plan for the development of our economy. The outline was discussed and approved by the Political Bureau. The "gang of four" attacked the State Council meeting as "the source of the right deviationist wind" and labelled the outline a "revisionist document". This was just plain slander and vilification. After the gang's downfall, the State Council revised and supplemented the outline in the light of China's fine political and economic situation and in accordance with the ardent desire of the whole nation to accelerate the four modernizations. The draft outline of the plan is now submitted to you for consideration.

According to the plan, in the space of ten years we are to lay a solid foundation for agriculture, achieve 85 percent mechanization in all major processes of farmwork, see to it that for each member of the rural population there is one mou of farmland with guaranteed stable high yields irrespective of drought or water-logging, and attain a relatively high level in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fisheries. The plan calls for the growth of light industry, which should turn out an abundance of first-rate, attractive and reasonably priced goods with a considerable increase in per capita consumption. Construction of an advanced heavy industry is envisaged, with the metallurgical, fuel, power and machine-building industries to be further developed through the adoption of new techniques, with iron and steel, coal, crude oil and electricity in the world's front ranks in terms of output, and with much more developed petro-chemical, electronics and other new industries. We will build transport and communications and postal and telecommunications networks big enough to meet growing industrial and agricultural needs, with most of our locomotives electrified or dieselized and with road, inland water and air transport and ocean shipping very much expanded. With the completion of an independent, and fairly comprehensive industrial complex and economic system for the whole country, we shall in the main have built up a regional economic system in each of the six major regions, that is, the southwest, the northwest, the central-south, the east, the north and northeast China, and turned our interior into a powerful, strategic rear base.

According to the ten-year plan, by 1985 we are to produce 400 billion kilogrammes of grain and 60 million tons of steel. In each of the eight years from 1978 to 1985, the value of agricultural output is to increase by 4 to 5 percent and of industrial output by over 10 percent. The increase in our country's output of major industrial products in the eight years will far exceed that in the past twenty-eight years. In these eight years, state revenues and investments budgeted for capital construction will both be equivalent to the total for the past twenty-eight years. As fellow deputies have reviewed the various economic targets in the ten-year plan, there is no need to list them now.

The accomplishment of the ten-year plan will bring about tremendous economic and technological changes and provide the country with a much more solid material base, and, given another period of hard work over three more five-year plans, the stage will be set for China to take its place in the front ranks of the world economy.

The tasks set in the ten-year plan and the envisaged development over twenty-three years are gigantic, but the job can be done. We have a socialist system with its advantages which can ensure a rapid growth of the productive forces. Since the Cultural Revolution, and especially since the great struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is better understood by the broadest masses, who are filled with a growing enthusiasm for socialism. We have a large population and abundant natural resources, and after twenty-odd years of construction we have established a fairly solid material base and accumulated a rich store of experience, negative as well as positive. We have all the pre-conditions for speeding up economic growth. Of course, there will be difficulties ahead and arduous efforts are needed to surmount them. But there is no reason at all to be apathetic--to underestimate the favourable conditions, be pessimistic and think that this or that is impossible. In the eleven years from 1966 to 1976, despite serious interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the "gang of four," grain output still registered an annual increase of over 4.3 percent on a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 5.5 percent, and the value of industrial output went up annually by more than 12 percent likewise in a third of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, with a maximum of 18.9 percent. With the smashing of the "gang of four," we believe that it is entirely possible for all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to attain or exceed these rates of increase through their efforts. We are sure this splendid plan of ours can be fulfilled.

To turn the plan into reality, it is important to adhere to the party's basic line, keep to the general line of GOING ALL OUT, AIMING HIGH AND ACHIEVING GREATER, FASTER, BETTER AND MORE ECONOMICAL RESULTS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, uphold the principle of BUILDING UP OUR COUNTRY INDEPENDENTLY AND WITH THE INITIATIVE IN OUR OWN HANDS, THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE AND HARD WORK, AND DILIGENCE AND THRIFT and follow the road for building socialism charted by Chairman Mao. The red banners of Taching and Tachai, which Chairman Mao set up as models, are fine examples of how a good job can be done in socialist industry and agriculture by steadfastly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In each of the past seventeen years, Taching has increased its output of crude oil by an average of 28 percent and last year Tachai produced over a thousand kilogrammes of grain per head. If all our industrial enterprises, communes and production brigades catch up with them, what an inspiring picture our national economy will present! Leading comrades at all levels should fully understand the profound significance of unfolding the movements to learn from Taching and Tachai and really endeavor to improve their work so that these movements will advance still more soundly and vigorously. They must not remain at the talking stage or be confined to meeting halls. No, they must be translated into action. Up to now, some localities and units have not made earnest efforts but have been half-hearted or have even made no real efforts in learning from the two models. Besides, there is a tendency in some localities to lower the standards for a Taching-type enterprise or a Tachai-type county. This must be quickly corrected. We must foster the revolutionary do-or-die spirit and work hard to ensure that by 1980 one-third of our enterprises become Taching-type enterprises and one-third of our counties Tachai-type counties.

To turn the plan into reality, we must also adopt effective measures and strive to solve a number of problems bearing on our whole economy.

**First. Mobilize the whole nation and go in for agriculture in a big way.**

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. If agriculture does not develop faster, there will be no upswing in our industry and economy as a whole, and even if there is a temporary upswing. A decline will follow, and there will be really serious trouble in the event of major natural calamities. We must have a clear understanding of this. Predominantly agricultural provinces must make an effort to develop agriculture, and predominantly industrial provinces must make still greater efforts. All trades and professions must do their best to support and serve agriculture.

In order to effect an upswing in agriculture, we rely mainly on learning conscientiously from Tachai, practising scientific farming and speeding up mechanization. In line with the principle of "TAKING GRAIN AS THE KEY LINK AND ENSURING AN ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT," the state is planning to take the following measures to develop agricultural production:

1. While attaining a country-wide increase in grain production, focus on the two following tasks. One, run the twelve large commodity grain bases and all our state farms efficiently and enable them to achieve a twofold or threefold increase in marketable grain in a space of eight years. Two, help low-yield, grain-deficient areas to become self-sufficient and achieve a surplus within two or three years.
2. While ensuring a rise in yields per unit, organize planned reclamation of wasteland by the state farms and people's communes so as to obtain a fair increase in cultivated acreage year by year, provided such reclamation does not affect water and soil conservation and the protection of forests, grasslands and aquatic product resources.
3. In accordance with the principles of specialized planting and rational distribution build a number of bases for the production of cotton, edible oil, sugar and other cash crops where conditions are suitable, and turn them into the state's main sources of supply for these products.
4. Strive to develop forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fisheries. Do a good job of developing the forest regions. Plant trees around every house and every village, by roadsides and watersides. Build livestock breeding areas. Set up freshwater and marine fishing grounds, and actively promote rural side-line occupations and commune- and brigade-run enterprises. In this way it will be possible considerably to expand the afforested areas and greatly increase the output of animal and aquatic products and increase the proportion of commune and brigade income derived from side-line occupations and enterprises.



5. Mobilize the masses to forge ahead with farmland capital construction and stress soil improvement and water control. The state must take charge of large-scale water conservancy projects, continue to harness such big rivers as the Yellow River, the Yangtze, the Huai, the Haiho, the Liaohe and the Pearl River, run the key projects to relieve drought in northwest, north and southwest China properly, and build projects to divert water from the Yangtze to areas north of the Yellow River. In the localities work must be initiated to build medium-sized and small water conservancy works suiting local conditions and to improve low-yield fields on mountain slopes, alkaline land and red soil.

6. From the top organs to the grass-roots units, set up and perfect a system of agro-scientific research and agro-technical popularization; implement the eight-point charter for agriculture in an all-round way, with stress on cultivating and popularizing fine strains of seed, improving farming methods, extensively exploring various sources of fertilizer and making a big effort to develop organic fertilizer and making proper use of chemical fertilizer.

7. In order to hasten the mechanization of agriculture, strive to manufacture more, better and cheaper farm machinery, chemical fertilizer and insecticide that meet specific needs, do a good job of supplying complete sets of farm machinery and of their maintenance, repair and management, and step up the training of farm technicians.

8. Make an extra effort to build up mountain areas and in particular give attention and assistance to construction in the old revolutionary base areas so as to accelerate their economic progress.

9. Strengthen the leadership of the poorer production teams and help them to transform themselves economically and catch up with the richer teams as soon as possible.

In order to ensure the implementation of the above measures, the state has planned to make appropriate increases in the proportion of its financial expenditures allocated to investments in agricultural capital construction and to operating expenses and to make corresponding arrangements for materials and equipment.

To increase agricultural production, it is imperative to bring into full play the socialist initiative of our peasant masses. Otherwise, the measures for increasing production will come to naught and socialist agriculture will not grow smoothly. All communes and brigades must deepen education in the party's basic line, persistently imbue the peasants with socialist ideas and keep on overcoming the spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism. It is necessary to adhere to the principle of running the people's communes democratically, diligently and frugally so as to ensure efficient management. Matters of importance should be decided through discussion at the general meetings of commune members or the conferences of their representatives, and not by a few people. To start farmland capital construction, improve farming methods, draw up plans for planting and work out ways to increase production, it is necessary to solicit opinions from the commune members and give full consideration to their practical experience in such matters. We must proceed from reality and adopt measures suiting local conditions. Coercion, commandism and arbitrary orders should be firmly opposed. Commune and brigade finances should be open to the supervision of the masses through the periodic publication of their accounts.

Sponging and taking more than one's share, overdrawing, and using funds for purposes other than those originally intended, and extravagance and waste on the part of cadres must be banned. Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should behave like the cadres of the Tachai production brigade and Hsiyang County and take an active part in collective productive labour. In some communes and brigades the proportion of cadres not engaged in production and of other non-productive personnel is too large and their subsidies are excessive, and in some cases the cadres arbitrarily demand grain and money from the commune, production brigade, production team or commune members or even requisition labour power. All this adds to the burdens of the peasants and dampens their enthusiasm. Such things must be resolutely stopped.

The conscientious implementation of the party's rural economic policies for the present stage is vital for mobilizing the peasants' initiative. Experience over the years shows that our party's policy against "equalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition" (4) and in favour of the exchange of equal value; its policy of diversifying the economy and developing collective side-line occupations; its policy on the purchase of agricultural and subsidiary products and on premiums for sales; its policy of allowing commune members to farm small plots for personal needs and engage in limited household side-line production and of allowing commune members in pastoral areas to keep a little livestock for personal needs, provided that in all cases the absolute predominance of the collective economy is ensured; its policy of legitimate trade at village fairs; and so on--all these correct policies benefit the growth of agricultural production, improve the peasants' livelihood and consolidate and expand the communes' collective economy. They enjoy the support of the peasant masses. The "gang of four" maliciously attacked the implementation of these policies as "restoring capitalism". We must thoroughly criticize such nonsense, eliminate its pernicious influence and unswervingly carry out these policies.

The state farms are agricultural units owned by the whole people. They must play an exemplary role in building a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. We must sum up experience, fully tap our potentialities and run the existing state farms well so as to provide the state with more agricultural and animal products. Meanwhile, we must actively set up more state farms to give our state-owned agriculture a big fillip.

Second. Speed up the development of the basic industries and give full scope to the leading role of industry.

As the economy becomes modernized, the leading role of industry, and especially that of the basic industries, becomes more and more prominent. We must TAKE STEEL AS THE KEY LINK. Strengthen the basic industries and exert a special effort to step up the development of the power, fuel and raw and semi-finished materials industries and transport and communications. Only thus can we give strong support to agriculture, rapidly expand light industry and substantially strengthen the national defence industries.

In developing the basic industries, we must endeavour to strengthen our work in geology and in the opening up of new mines so that geological surveying and the mining industry will meet the needs of economic construction at high speed.

In developing the basic industries, we must be good at tapping the potential of the existing enterprises and at renovating and transforming them as well as at integrating this task with the building of new enterprises. In the next eight years, and especially in the next three years, our existing enterprises must be the foundation for the growth of production.

We must make full use of existing equipment, make sure that complete sets of equipment are available, introduce technical transformation in a planned way and carry out extensive co-ordination between specialized departments. This will gain us time and speed and will save on investment. Meanwhile, the state plans to build or complete 120 large-scale projects, including 10 iron and steel complexes, 9 non-ferrous metal complexes, 8 coal mines, 10 oil and gas fields, 30 power stations, 6 new trunk railways and 5 key harbours. The completion of these projects added to the existing industrial foundation will provide China with 14 fairly strong and fairly rationally located industrial bases. This will be decisive in changing the backward state of our basic industries.

In capital construction, we must keep to the principle of concentrating our forces and fighting a battle of annihilation to achieve economy in our investments, high quality in our work and short building cycles, and we must rapidly acquire the capacity to streamline production and get optimum results. With regard to the 120 large-scale projects in the state plan for the next eight years, the whole country, from the top levels to the grass roots, must co-operate closely and select competent leading cadres, fine technical personnel and skilled workers for the concerted battle to accomplish these projects successively with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

It is essential to adhere to the policy of the simultaneous development of large, medium-scale and small enterprises. While it is important to run the large modern enterprises well, every attention must also be given to the development of medium-scale and small enterprises. All provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must utilize local resources, strive to make a success of medium-scale and small coalfields, small power stations, mines, cement and chemical fertilizer plants, strengthen and improve medium-scale and small iron and steel and non-ferrous metal enterprises, and try to produce more chemical raw materials. All medium-scale and small enterprises should come under the plans, get their raw materials from local sources and work hard to improve production and management techniques. Where they compete with the large enterprises for supplies of raw and semi-finished materials or for fuel or power, the matter must be given overall consideration and properly solved to ensure that the needs of the large enterprises are fully met.

The machine-building industry which has the vital task of equipping all branches of the economy should be organized in accordance with the principle of co-ordination between specialized departments. It should come under a unified plan, do a good job in the standardization, serialization and general utilization of its products, work hard to turn out high-grade machines and equipment and produce more and better sets of large modern precision machinery. The national defence industries should turn their production capacity to good account, diligently carry out research and the trial production and then the outturn of more and better modern conventional and strategic weapons. Serious efforts should be made to implement the policy of integrating military with non-military enterprises and peace-time production with preparedness against war, and fully tap the potential of the machine-building and national defence industries.

Along with the strengthening of the basic industries there should be a vigorous development of light industry.



We should explore and open up more sources of raw materials, try to increase the supply of agricultural raw materials, substantially increase the ratio of such petro-chemically produced raw materials as chemical fibres and plastics to all raw materials used in light industry, greatly expand the production of textiles, sugar and paper and other light industrial products, and see that the provinces and autonomous regions achieve self-sufficiency in ordinary light industrial products as early as possible. We should continue and expand the production of popular traditional articles, and efficiently arrange the production of articles of daily use, miscellaneous goods, handicraft wares and commodities specially needed by the minority nationalities.

In building our industry we should apply the principle of combining industry and agriculture and town and country. Where conditions permit, the workers and staff and their families should get organized for agricultural and side-line production, as in the Taching oilfield. We should as far as possible avoid crowding the big cities with new construction units and should build more small and medium-sized towns and cities.

Third. Do a good job in commerce and develop foreign trade.

Socialist commerce is a bridge that links industry with agriculture, urban areas with rural areas and production with consumption. It is essential to make a success of commerce, for it promotes the rapid growth of the economy, consolidates the worker-peasant alliance and serves to meet the people's daily needs. Those who work in shops and supply and marketing departments are part of the working class. They are inseparably linked with the general process of production, and since what they do is lofty revolutionary labour they should command the respect of all. The commercial departments should firmly implement the policy of "DEVELOP THE ECONOMY AND ENSURE SUPPLIES," give strong support to industrial and agricultural production and wholeheartedly serve the people in meeting their daily needs. We should organize the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural products well, stimulate the interchange of urban and rural products, provide the markets with adequate supplies, appropriately expand commercial networks or centres, increase the variety of goods on the market, and improve the quality of service to customers. We should tighten price and market controls and deal resolute blows to speculation and profiteering.

There should be a big increase in foreign trade. In our export trade, attention should be given both to bulk exports and exports in small quantities. While expanding the export of agricultural and side-line products, we should raise the ratio of industrial and mineral productions in our exports. We should build a number of bases for supplying industrial and mineral products and agricultural and side-line products for export. We should earnestly sum up our experience in foreign trade and, in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, handle our business transactions flexibly and successfully.

Fourth. Encourage socialist labour emulation and be active in technical innovation and technical revolution.

The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm for socialism. Socialist labour emulation is a good and important method of bringing the initiative and creativeness of the people into full play and of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing the economy. Each and every locality, trade, enterprise, establishment and rural commune and production brigade should fully mobilize the masses and bring about an upsurge in emulating, learning from, catching up with and over-taking the advanced units, and helping the less advanced units.

The main aim of the labour emulation is to increase production and practise economy, that is, to strive to step up production, improve quality, raise labour productivity, economize on materials, cut down costs and increase profits. At present, some enterprises seek to increase production to the neglect of quality of products and quantity of materials consumed, causing much waste. This does not square with the requirement of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Failure to achieve high quality, economize on materials and provide the state with constantly increasing profits will make it impossible for the economy to achieve sustained and high-speed development. All enterprises are required to reach their previous peak production levels in terms of economic and technical norms before the year is out, and those that have already done so should strive to catch up with or surpass domestic and world advanced standards. In the course of labour emulation, attention should be paid to combining work with adequate rest so as to keep up the enthusiasm of the masses. Moreover, all departments and enterprises should break down the boundaries between trades and create more for the state by actively undertaking the multiple utilization of resources and so turning "waste" into wealth. We must resolutely combat the spendthrift style, which pays no attention to quality and economic accounting, and the prodigal bourgeois style of indulgence in extravagance and waste. We must foster the fine tradition of waging hard struggles and building the country with diligence and thrift.

For our economy to develop at high speed, we must break free from conventions and use advanced techniques as much as possible. The broad masses have inexhaustible creative power and are fully capable of making a great leap forward in science and technology by relying on their own strength. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals should be creative and dauntless; they should dare to think, dare to speak out and dare to act and should unfold a widespread movement for technical innovation and technical revolution in urban and rural areas, coming up with new and better ways to do things and turning their talents to full account. All localities and departments must keep abreast of current developments in technology at home and abroad, work out plans and measures for employing and popularizing new techniques, strive to learn advanced science and technology, domestic and foreign, and must not get stuck in a groove and rest content with old practices. We must increase technical exchanges and fight against the rotten bourgeois style of refusing to share information. Commendations and proper awards should be given to those units that have achieved marked successes in adopting new techniques, developing new technologies and turning out new products as well as to those collectives and individuals who have made inventions.

Fifth. Strengthen unified planning and give full play to the initiative of both the central and local authorities.

Planned economy is a basic feature of the socialist economy. We must resolutely put an end to the anarchy resulting from the interference and sabotage of the "gang of four" and bring all economic undertakings into the orbit of planned, proportionate development. In formulating plans, we must follow the mass line, and both the central departments and the localities should do more investigation and study, endeavour to strike an overall balance, make the plans bold as well as sound and allocate manpower, material and money where they are most needed so that the various branches of the economy develop in co-ordination.

A strict system of personal responsibility must be set up at all levels, from the departments under the State Council to the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions right down to the grass-roots units, so that each leading cadre has his clear-cut responsibilities and nothing is neglected. Fulfilment of the state plan will thus be effectively ensured. We must check up regularly on how the localities, departments and grass-roots units are carrying out their plans. We shall commend those who fulfill their plans satisfactorily and shall hold the leading cadres responsible where the plan is not fulfilled because of their poor work and bureaucracy. In the case of serious failures necessary disciplinary action will be taken.

The law of value must be consciously applied under the guidance of the unified state plan. We must study in earnest the price parities between industrial and agricultural products and between raw and semi-finished materials, fuel and manufactured goods. To promote production, we must appropriately raise the purchase prices of agricultural products and, as costs are cut down, properly reduce the prices of manufactured goods, especially those produced to support agriculture. We must fully utilize finance, banking and credit in promoting and supervising economic undertakings so as to spur all enterprises to improve management, pay due attention to economic results and accumulate more capital for the state.

Given the strengthening of unified central leadership, it is necessary to develop the initiative of both the central and local authorities. While the former must have absolute control on major issues, power should devolve on the latter with respect to minor ones. Power is to be centralized where necessary, while active support is to be given to the local authorities in undertaking what should be put in their charge. The principle of transferring the management of certain enterprises to the localities should be adhered to. However, instead of washing their hands of these enterprises, the central departments should enthusiastically assist the local authorities to run them well. Key enterprises and research and designing institutions that have a bearing on the economy as a whole should be put under dual leadership. The central departments in charge should assume the chief responsibility, but the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must shoulder some responsibility too. We must conscientiously sum up experience, gradually reform and perfect the management of enterprises and control over planning, materials and finance. Both the central departments and the localities must have the over-all interest in mind and work for the strengthening of the unified leadership of the central authorities. While we must put our foot down on the tendency of the central departments to take too much upon themselves and hamper the local authorities' initiative, we must also oppose the tendency of regions or departments to attend only to their own individual interests to the neglect of the unified state plan.

Sixth. Uphold the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and steadily improve the livelihood of the people.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, we must uphold the principles of "he who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". In applying them we must firmly put proletarian politics in command, strengthen ideological and political work and teach and encourage everybody to cultivate the communist attitude towards labour and to serve the people whole-heartedly. With regard to distribution, while we should avoid a wide wage spread, we must also oppose equalitarianism and apply the principle of more pay for more work and less pay for less work.



The enthusiasm of the masses cannot be aroused if no distinction is made between those who do more work and those who do less, between those who do a good job and those who do a poor one, and between those who work and those who don't. All people's communes and production brigades must seriously apply the system of fixed production quotas and calculation of work-points on the basis of work done and must enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex. The staff and workers of state enterprises should be paid primarily on a time-rate basis with piecework playing a secondary role, and with additional bonuses. There should be pecuniary allowances for jobs requiring higher labour intensity or performed under worse working conditions. In socialist labour emulation, moral encouragement and material reward must go hand in hand, with emphasis on the former. As regards the reform of the wage system, the relevant departments under the State Council should, together with the local authorities, make conscientious investigation and study, sum up experience, canvass the opinions of the masses and then submit a draft plan based on over-all consideration to the central authorities for approval before it is to be gradually implemented.

Chairman Mao said: "WE MUST LAY EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION, BUT CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO BOTH THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD." We must carry forward our fine tradition of diligence, thrift, plain living and hard work so as to accumulate more capital for increasing production and promoting construction. At the same time, as production rises, we must gradually improve the livelihood of the people, so that in normal harvest years 90 percent of the commune members can receive a bigger income every year, and staff members and workers can have their wages increased step by step, provided that the state plan is fulfilled. Great efforts must be made to increase the supply of non-staple foodstuffs for urban consumers. Large and medium-sized cities and those factories and mines which are in a position to do so should set up production bases for non-staple foodstuffs and set up well-run mechanized or semi-mechanized pig and poultry farms. We must improve the living conditions of the urban and rural population by systematically supplying the countryside with materials needed for building houses and resolving the problem of providing living quarters for staff members and workers. Vigorous action should be taken to develop collective welfare and urban public utilities so as to facilitate production and provide amenities for the people. We must strive to ensure safety in production and the protection of labour. The elimination of pollution and the protection of the environment are a major issue involving the people's health, an issue to which we must attach great importance. We must draw up regulations to protect the environment and make sure that related problems are satisfactorily solved.

We are not yet acquainted with many of the problems that crop up in economic construction. In particular, in many respects modern production remains an unknown kingdom of necessity to us. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, the leading cadres at all levels must use their brains and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism, economics, production management and science and technology so as to "BECOME EXPERT IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC WORK ON THE BASIS OF A HIGHER LEVEL OF MARXISM-LENINISM." We must study hard and work well, sum up experience, attain a better grasp of the laws governing socialist economic construction, master the art of guiding and organizing modern production, raise the level of economic management and do our economic work in an ever more meticulous, thoroughgoing, practical and scientific way, thus propelling the national economy forward at high speed.

#### Develop Socialist Science, Education and Culture

In the wake of the new upsurge in economic construction a new upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere will follow.

We must raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation to a much higher level so that our working people will master modern techniques of production and scientific knowledge. At the same time, we must build a vast army of working-class intellectuals. Only thus can we successfully fulfill the grand target of building a modern, powerful socialist country.

In the last twenty-eight years, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have achieved much in the spheres of science, education, literature and art, public health, physical culture, the press and publishing. The explosion of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, the launching and retraction of man-made satellites--all these mark a new level in the development of our country's science and technology. Junior middle-school education has become general in most cities and towns and primary school education in practically all villages. Institutions of higher learning and secondary technical schools have trained large numbers of students in professional skills. However, our scientific, educational and cultural work has suffered severely from interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, and most of all by the "gang of four". The gap between our own and the advanced world scientific and technical level which had been narrowing has widened again in recent years. The quality of school education has fallen sharply. In all fields of endeavour there are not enough trained younger men and women ready to take over from older experts. A new liberation has come with the smashing of the "gang of four". The tremendous exuberance of the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals is becoming a mammoth force for storming the citadels of science, revitalizing education and creating a brilliant culture.

Modern science and technology, which are characterized mainly by the use of atomic energy and the development of electronic computers and space science, are experiencing a great revolution, leading to the emergence of new industries and spurring the advance of technology by leaps and bounds. To catch up quickly with the dramatic changes in modern science and technology and rapidly transform our backwardness in these fields are important and indispensable steps for the speedy development of our economy and the strengthening of our national defence. This is a matter to which our whole party, army and nation must give close attention. Scientific research should be comprehensively planned, with due attention to both short- and long-range targets and in the light of the needs of our national construction and the trends of modern science and technology. All branches of science and technology should be developed in coordination, with special emphasis on focal ones so that there is enough concentration to make a breakthrough. Scientific and technical personnel should be widely mobilized and their efforts organized, with proper division of labour and close coordination, to speed up research into urgent scientific and technical problems in economic construction and national defence. They should produce results in advanced scientific and technical research so as to achieve high and steady yields and fine quality at low cost in agriculture, the all-round development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries, and the building of a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture. They should make contributions towards the technical transformation of the industrial departments, towards prospecting for and discovering more mineral resources and, in particular, towards rapidly transforming the weaker links in our economy; that is, fuel, electricity, raw and semifinished materials industries, and transport and communications, so as to put our industries on an advanced technological basis as early as possible. The prediction of natural calamities and our ability to cope with them should be improved.

We must strive to develop new scientific techniques, set up nuclear power stations, launch different kinds of satellites, and step up research into laser theory and its application, attach importance to the research on genetic engineering and, above all, research on integrated circuits and electronic computers and their widespread application. We must strive to apply the latest techniques in scientific experiment and set up a number of centres for sophisticated experimentation. Full attention must be paid to theoretical research in the natural sciences, including such basic subjects as modern mathematics, high energy physics and molecular biology. Negligence in this respect will make it impossible for us to master and apply the results of advanced world science and technology and properly solve important problems in our construction, to say nothing of making major discoveries or inventions. A national science conference is soon to be convened where a plan for the development of science and technology will be drawn up, advanced individuals cited and outstanding achievements commended, so as to bring everybody's initiative into full play for the modernization of our science and technology.

In the sphere of philosophy and the social sciences, we should make a study of the past as well as the present state of Chinese and world politics, economics, military affairs and ideology. We must deepen the criticism of the "gang of four", or revisionism and of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and comprehensively and accurately expound and spread Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a system. This is required by our country's socialist revolution and construction and it is also our bounden internationalist obligation to the people of the world. We must organize forces to map out a national development plan for philosophy and the social sciences and for research into philosophy, economics, politics, military sciences, law, history, education, literary theory, linguistics, ethnology and religion. Comrades working on the ideological and theoretical front must strive to contribute to spreading and developing Marxist philosophy and social sciences.

We must correctly carry out the policy of making education serve proletarian politics and combining it with productive labour, have a correct orientation, ensure the success of the revolution in education and accelerate the training of our students so that they develop in an all-round way, morally, intellectually and physically, and become workers with both socialist consciousness and culture. All professions and trades should attach due weight to education and fully support it. We should run well schools at all levels and of all types, and primarily the key universities and schools. In order to improve the quality of education, it is necessary to take effective measures to train teachers, to compile new textbooks speedily and to utilize modern aids fully. By 1985, in the main, eight-year schooling should be made universal in the rural areas and ten-year schooling in the cities. We should fully tap the potential of existing institutions of higher learning, actively expand the student enrollment, rapidly set up new colleges and institutes and endeavour to run the vocational and technical schools and colleges well. We must break free from old rules and conventions and spot, train and foster talents in all fields. Spare-time education should be actively promoted to satisfy the demand for learning on the part of cadres, workers, peasants, soldiers and school graduates who have gone to the countryside.



We should set up an appropriate examination system. Spare-time students who have attained college graduate level and have proved themselves qualified by passing an examination should be given the same treatment as college graduates in their employment. Our present college graduates should be enabled to put what they have learned to good use, and further efforts should be made to train them and raise their level. In recent years, large numbers of students selected from among workers, peasants, soldiers, and school graduates who had been to the countryside were trained in colleges and universities. They are a new force in our contingent of intellectuals and should be given every care and assistance to grow and mature.

The vital task on the front of literature and art now is conscientiously to implement Chairman Mao's directive on readjusting the party's policy in this sphere. Our work should be strengthened and the present shortage of all genres of literature and art caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four" should be rapidly overcome. The repertoires of the performing arts should be enlarged to enrich the people's cultural life. Literature and art must keep to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Workers in literature, drama, the film, music, the fine arts, choreography and chui (popular forms of ballad singing, etc.--NCNA translator) should be mobilized and encouraged to go to factories, rural areas and army units to experience life at its source and create more. We should give special attention to the film with its huge audience, because its impact is immense. We should redouble our efforts to produce more fine films. There should be variety in the subject matter of our literature and art. Modern revolutionary themes should be dominant, particularly those reflecting the three great revolutionary movements of the socialist period, but attention should also be given to historical and other themes. Revolutionary realism, combined with revolutionary romanticism, should be encouraged in artistic creation. We should give great emphasis to literary criticism. We should be active in organizing cultural centres, film projection teams and various forms of spare-time cultural activity for the masses. Local operas should be revived and the distinctive literature and art of our different nationalities developed. For half a century and more our great leader Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in great revolutionary struggles that brought epoch-making changes. Our writers and artists should have lofty aspirations and strive to produce fine works of art depicting the glorious deeds and achievements of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Te of the NPC Standing Committee and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the militant course of the people's revolutionary struggle led by our party.

In health work, we should continue the policy of putting the stress on the rural areas and run county and commune hospitals well. The rural cooperative medical service should be strengthened and expanded and the professional proficiency of barefoot doctors raised. At the same time, medical and health work in the cities and in factories and mines should also be done well. We should earnestly strengthen the leadership over rural and urban hospitals, consolidate the management system, and raise the quality of medical care and nursing. Attention should be given to the health work for women and children. Doctors and nurses should be well trained. Medical research should be intensified and medical institutions be provided with advanced mechanical equipment. The policy of emphasizing preventive medicine should be implemented and patriotic sanitation movements aimed at wiping out pests and diseases should be launched. The policy of combining Chinese traditional and Western medicine should be pursued so as to create a new integrated Chinese medicine and pharmacology. We should vigorously promote mass sports to improve the people's physique. We should rapidly develop the ranks of our athletes and strive to scale the world's peaks in sports.

Family planning is a very significant matter. Planned control of population growth is conducive to the planned development of the national economy and to the health of mother and child. It also benefits the people where production, work and study are concerned. We must continue to give it serious attention and strive to lower the annual rate of growth of China's population to less than 1 percent within three years.

We should make a success of our press and broadcasting work and accelerate the development of television, so as to be able to utilize the mass media fully in our propaganda and education. We should improve our publishing work and lose no time in changing the present state of affairs in which books and periodicals are few, the process of printing is long drawnout and printing techniques leave much to be desired. Libraries of all types should be promoted so that a network serving the masses and scientific research can be established.

Giving full scope to the abilities of intellectuals is important for speeding up the development of our science, education and other cultural undertakings and building a modern, powerful socialist country. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals are devoted to the party and socialism and support Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the political movements of the past, in their study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, in their endeavour to identify themselves with the workers and peasants and in their day-to-day work, they have made marked progress in remoulding their bourgeois world outlook and acquiring the proletarian world outlook and played a significant role in the socialist revolution and construction. Working-class intellectuals are growing in number. The "gang of four" maligned the intellectuals as "the stinking ninth category". Instead of regarding them as a force to be united with and relied upon by the working class, the gang set them up as targets for attack and as objects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus distorting the distinction between manual and mental labour under socialist conditions into a class antagonism. They undermined the revolutionary alliance between the workers, peasants and the numerous intellectuals and confused class alignments, thus dampening and stifling the enthusiasm of the intellectuals for socialism. We must make a clean sweep of the gang's pernicious influence and correctly and comprehensively carry out the party's policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the intellectuals. We must give due weight to their work, improve their working conditions, turn their specializations to account and commend their achievements. At the same time, we must encourage them to make a real effort to remould their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements, persevere in identifying themselves with the workers and peasants and advance along the Red-and-expert road. We must continue to develop and expand the ranks of working-class intellectuals and cultivate large numbers of fine scientists, engineers, professors, teachers, doctors, writers, artists, journalists and Marxist theorists.

Millions of school graduates now in the countryside are actively participating in the three great revolutionary movements, tempering themselves and becoming more and more competent. Many more will be going to the countryside. We should take effective measures to solve problems concerning their study, livelihood and other practical matters, and bring them up as reinforcements in our undertaking to make China a modern, powerful socialist country.

"LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM, LET A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND" is the basic policy for making China's socialist science and culture flourish. Its essence is to adopt a policy of "opening wide" within the ranks of the people while adhering to the six political criteria so as constantly to expand the positions of Marxism in matters of ideology and to promote science and culture.

Only by firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools can people cultivate the ability to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds through comparison and struggle, and thus promote what is correct and overcome what is wrong. Only thus can different styles and trends in art and different viewpoints and schools of thought advance through discussion and mutual stimulation, and only thus can we turn out fine and competent people, register first-rate scientific achievements and produce fine literature and art. Of late, our academic circles have started a spirited discussion on a number of theoretical questions that had been bedevilled by the "gang of four". This is an auspicious sign and should be supported and encouraged. Where there is controversy in academic discussions and literary criticism, we should avoid hasty conclusions. We should seek solutions not through such over-simple measures as administrative orders, but through full discussion and practical experience.

"WE SHOULD'NT DEMAND PERFECTION." This is a point of substance to bear in mind while implementing the policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools. To demand perfection, to require gold to be one hundred percent pure and man to be flawless, is a manifestation of metaphysical thinking. The "gang of four" searched everywhere for false charges to level at people and stopped at nothing to throttle socialist science and culture. We must try hard to remove their pernicious influence, warmly support and care for new socialist things and foster their sturdy growth. As long as works of literature and art conform to the six political criteria and pass muster artistically, they should be allowed to appear. After publication or appearance, they can be revised and improved in the light of comments and suggestions from the public.

To accelerate the development of socialist science and culture we must stick to the policy of "MAKING THE PAST SERVE THE PRESENT" and "MAKING THINGS FOREIGN SERVE CHINA." We must conscientiously try to study the advanced science and technology of all countries and turn them to our account. We must be critical in assimilating things from our ancient culture and from the culture of foreign countries, taking the essence and discarding the dross and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, in order to promote a socialist culture which is national in its traits and rich in the characteristics of the age.

The "gang of four" vehemently opposed Chairman Mao's policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China. It wildly pushed fascist cultural autocracy and a policy of prohibition. It put into cold storage all the highly rated films made before the Cultural Revolution and progressive films imported from abroad. It prohibited the performance of good historical plays and traditional operas. It banned large numbers of local operas, songs and dances of the nationalities, modern plays and excellent Chinese and foreign music. It stopped the publication of the finest literature, whether Chinese or foreign, disbanded the mass organizations devoted to scientific and cultural advancement and arbitrarily put books under lock and key. And so on and so forth. Cultural poverty and insipidity was the result of the gang's perversion and wrongdoing, and this aroused strong dissatisfaction among the people. We must deepen our criticism of the gang's cultural autocracy and policy of prohibitions and deal effectively with such problems as still require attention, in accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and the party's policies.

The basic task on the ideological and cultural fronts is to promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois. All reactionary theories, whether feudal, capitalist or revisionist, and all that is decadent in the cultural sphere, must be criticized and repudiated and must not be allowed to spread with impunity.



Truth always exists by contrast with falsehood and grows in struggle with it, and so it is in the case of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. In struggling with things non-Marxist and anti-Marxist, we should not adopt a policy of prohibiting people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile, for "IT IS DANGEROUS POLICY" and "IT WILL LEAD TO MENTAL DETERIORATION, ONE-TRACK MINDS, AND UNPREPAREDNESS TO FACE THE WORLD AND MEET CHALLENGES." Our purpose in providing the people with selections of needed negative material is to fortify and immunize them. To correctly implement the policies of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend and of making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China will definitely strengthen the leading role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of science and culture. It will definitely not lead to a bourgeois liberalization as the reactionaries at home and abroad fondly hope. If anything, it will bring about a flourishing socialist science and culture.

Our science, education and culture belong to the people and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. If we popularize science and culture, if we raise the nation's scientific and cultural level and integrate popularization with higher standards, and if we forge links between specialists and laymen, we can certainly form a huge army of scientific and cultural workers and quicken the tempo of our advance. We are firm in our belief that the scientific prediction made by our great leader Chairman Mao on the solemn occasion of the birth of the People's Republic of China will come true: "THE ERA IN WHICH THE CHINESE PEOPLE WERE REGARDED AS UNCIVILIZED IS NOW ENDED. WE SHALL EMERGE IN THE WORLD AS A NATION WITH AN ADVANCED CULTURE."

#### Consolidate our Political Power and Strengthen the Great Unity of the People of all Nationalities

To make China a great modern, powerful socialist country, we must further strengthen the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, give full play to popular democracy, enhance the great unity of the people of all nationalities, develop the revolutionary united front and mobilize all positive factors.

The revolutionary committees at various levels are local government organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the last few years, these committees were paralysed in many places because of interference and sabotage by the "gang of four", and there were even cases where power was usurped by them and their followers. We must re-elect these committees at the various levels and do a good job in building up our political power in strict accordance with the five requirements for successors in the revolutionary cause and with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young laid down by Chairman Mao. Prior to this session of the National People's Congress, all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions had at one time or another convened people's congresses at which outstanding people from the ranks of workers, peasants, revolutionary army-men, revolutionary cadres, and intellectuals, outstanding people who had made genuine, publicly acknowledged contributions, and representatives from all circles were elected to new revolutionary committees. This has had the warm support of the masses. People's congresses will be held in the cities directly under provincial authorities, in the autonomous prefectures and in the counties and communes throughout the country during the year to elect new revolutionary committees. As the organ of state power at the prefectural level is an agency of the provincial authorities, no revolutionary committee will be established at this level. With the exception of those factories, mines or other enterprises where government administration is integrated with management, factories, production brigades, schools and colleges, shops, party and government organizations and other enterprises and establishments will no longer set up revolutionary committees, inasmuch as they do not form a level of government.



In lieu of revolutionary committees, a system of division of responsibilities should be adopted, with factory directors, production brigade leaders, school principals, college presidents and managers taking charge under the leadership of party committees.

The revolutionary committees at the various levels should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" and foster the revolutionary spirit so that these organs of state power can play their role to the full. Cadres at all levels should apply themselves to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, gain the professional proficiency required by their jobs, and improve their art of leadership. They should carry forward the party's fine traditions and style of work, throw themselves into the forefront of the three great revolutionary movements and persist in collective productive labour. They should be concerned about the livelihood of the masses, be ready to listen to their opinions, accept their supervision and be good servants of the people. Revolutionary committees at all levels must streamline their administrative structure, cut meetings to a minimum, improve working methods and raise efficiency. We must firmly oppose bureaucracy, commandism, formalism, extravagance and waste, cheating, jobbery, and privileges for the cadres and all other decadent bourgeois styles.

Under the unified leadership of the party, revolutionary committees at all levels must attach importance to the role played by the trade unions, the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations, the Youth League, women's federations and other popular organizations, and through them maintain close ties with the masses and do a good job in every field.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, founded personally by Chairman Mao, is the staunch pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Over the past fifty years, this army has performed meritorious services, defeating internal and external enemies, defending our socialist motherland and taking part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It deserves to be hailed as a heroic people's army. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it again made significant contributions in the "three support's and two military's" (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, and support the broad masses of the left; and military control and political and military training--NCNA translator) and in crushing the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four". The People's Liberation Army should continue to implement Chairman Mao's important instructions: "IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSOLIDATE THE ARMY" and "BE READY TO FIGHT IN A WAR". It must grasp the key link of class struggle and run its affairs well, promote its glorious traditions, strengthen its political work and its political and military training, run the military academies well, step up preparations against war and deepend the mass movements for learning from the model soldier Lei Feng, the "Hard-bone 6th Company" and the 1st Air Force Division. We must work hard to raise to a new height the military and political quality of our army, its revolutionization and modernization. We must uphold the system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia; we should continue to build up the militia organizationally, politically and militarily and give full scope to its role in the socialist revolution, socialist construction and the defence of the motherland.

Let the whole nation learn from the Liberation Army and the Liberation Army learn from the whole nation. In order to cement the ties of unity between the army and the people and between the army and the government, not only must the revolutionary committees at all levels seriously attend to the work of supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to the families of the armymen but the People's Liberation Army units must do likewise in supporting the government and cherishing the people. Moreover, they must make proper arrangements for retired, demobilized and disabled armymen and armymen transferred to civilian jobs. In particular, they must be warm in their concern for the political well-being of revolutionary armymen who have made contributions in the long years of revolutionary war and take effective measures to solve any difficulties in their livelihood.

The people's public security organs, the procuratorial organs and people's courts are important instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must be further consolidated and built up. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching on correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, we must firmly implement the principles and policies set down by the Central Committee concerning the struggle against the enemy and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows to the handful of class enemies, with the emphasis on accuracy. We must ENFORCE DICTATORSHIP OVER THE REACTIONARY CLASSES AND ELEMENTS AND ALL THOSE WHO RESIST SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION AND OPPOSE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. We must also exercise dictatorship over new bourgeois elements, thieves, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, criminal gangs, smash-and-grabbers and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt public order.

Dictatorship over the enemy and democracy among the people are the two inseparable aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when we deal resolute blows to the enemy can we ensure that the people will really become masters of their own affairs. Only when we give full play to democracy among the people can we deal effective blows to the enemy and truly protect the people. Only when we give full scope to democracy can we correctly practise centralism, work out policies and methods consistent with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and promptly spot and correct shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Only thus can we closely unite the people and fully mobilize everyone's revolutionary initiative. Chairman Mao pointed out: "WITHOUT BROAD DEMOCRACY AMONG THE PEOPLE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO BE CONSOLIDATED OR FOR POLITICAL POWER TO BE STABLE." "IF UNITY IS TO PREVAIL THROUGHOUT THE PARTY AND THE NATION, WE MUST GIVE FULL PLAY TO DEMOCRACY AND LET PEOPLE SPEAK UP." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, listen modestly to the opinions of the masses and treat seriously the letters the people send in and the complaints they make when they call. We will never allow suppression of opinion, much less retaliation against those who make criticisms. Our constitution lays down in clear terms the rights of the people. The organs of the state at various levels must take effective measures to ensure that the people enjoy and exercise these rights. Violations of these rights will be dealt with strictly, and in serious cases will be punished according to law.

It is essential to strengthen the socialist legal system if we are to bring about great order across the land. Our laws protect the people's interests. Basing ourselves on the new constitution which is to be discussed and adopted at this session, we should draw on our twenty-eight years of experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat, give a ready ear to the opinions of the masses and gradually make and perfect our socialist laws. We should give wide publicity to the significance of cultivating a sense of respect for socialist laws.

dr's encouragement in wading, as should the masses, and indeed everyone. We should rely on the masses in all our public order and dealing firmly with crimes of different kinds.

China is a unitary state with more than fifty nationalities. Chairman Mao consistently stressed cementing the ties of unity among all nationalities and called on the people of all nationalities to make concerted efforts to build our great socialist motherland. We must further unmask and criticize the 'gang of four' for their counter-revolutionary crime of undermining Chairman Mao's leadership and strengthening the unity of the Chinese people. We must oppose great-nation chauvinism while at the same time directing our attention to overcoming and preventing local-nationality chauvinism. All nationalities should respect, help and learn from one another. The policy of regional national autonomy must be conscientiously implemented and the right of the minority peoples to equality and autonomy must be guaranteed without fail. We must try very hard to train cadres from minority areas and put on the outstanding ones to leading positions. We must run the schools and institute well-learned use and development of the spoken and written languages of the minority nationalities. Comrades of the Han nationality who work in a minority nationality area must learn the area's language and respect its customs and ways. As to old and backward custom and habits, it is up to the people of the minority nationalities concerned to reform them step by step according to their own will. The handful of class enemies who try to sow discord among the nationalities and undermine national unity must be fully exposed and resolutely dealt with.

To give sincere and active help to the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture is a major task in our nationality work, in building up our border regions and in consolidating our national defence. The minority nationalities should foster the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and self-reliance, and the state should help them in a planned way with funds, materials and personnel to ensure "THE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURE, ANIMAL HUSBANDRY AND INDUSTRY FROM YEAR TO YEAR, GREATER ECONOMIC PROSPERITY FROM YEAR TO YEAR, AND RISING LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE FROM YEAR TO YEAR" in the minority areas.

In accordance with the provisions in the constitution, we shall continue to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, which embraces freedom to believe in religion, freedom not to believe, and freedom to propagate atheism. We must expose and strike at the class enemies who carry on counter-revolutionary activities in religious garb.

An important component of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the development of the revolutionary united front, which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other labouring people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personages, our compatriots in and from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. The revolutionary united front was one of the magic weapons by which we defeated the enemy in the period of the new-democratic revolution. In the period of socialist revolution, this revolutionary united front continues to be consolidated and expanded, and is playing an important role. We must make further efforts to ensure the full implementation of Chairman Mao's principles and policies concerning the united front, uniting with all the forces that can be united and mobilizing all positive factors to serve the socialist cause. The Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, now simultaneously in session with the National People's Congress, plays an important role in consolidating and developing the united front in our country.



In conformity with the six political criteria set forth by Chairman Mao, we will unite and cooperate with all those who accept the leadership of the Communist Party and love the socialist motherland, and bring their initiative into play. The government at all levels must earnestly give heed to their criticisms and suggestions and accept what is correct in order to improve our work. We must criticize and teach those whose words and deeds are at variance with the six political criteria and, where necessary, even wage struggles against them. Our principle is: unity, struggle, unity through struggle. Towards the national bourgeoisie, our policy is to eliminate it as a class and reform its members so that they will gradually become working people supporting themselves by their own labour. Chairman Mao said: "THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT HAVE NO REASON TO REJECT ANYONE OR DENY HIM THE OPPORTUNITY OF MAKING A LIVING AND RENDERING SERVICE TO THE COUNTRY, PROVIDED HE IS REALLY WILLING TO SERVE THE PEOPLE AND PROVIDED HE REALLY HELPED AND DID A GOOD TURN WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE FACED WITH DIFFICULTIES AND KEEPS ON DOING GOOD WITHOUT GIVING UP HALFWAY." It is our hope that all who love the socialist motherland will continue to make progress in their study, work and ideological remoulding and do their share in building our great country.

Overseas Chinese who have returned from abroad have played a positive role in building the motherland. As before, we must seriously try to carry out the state's policies and pay attention to the political progress, work and well-being of all returned Overseas Chinese and the relatives of Overseas Chinese and give them proper preferential treatment, so as to bring their enthusiasm for socialism into fuller play. Our countrymen residing abroad and foreign nationals of Chinese descent who return to the homeland to visit their relatives and friends should be provided with the necessary facilities. The concern and preferential treatment extended to the relatives of Overseas Chinese will equally be extended to the relatives in China of foreign nationals of Chinese descent.

Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of China. The people in and from Taiwan are our kith and kin. The liberation of Taiwan and the unification of the motherland are the common aspirations of the whole Chinese people, our Taiwan compatriots included. We resolutely oppose anyone scheming to create what is called "two Chinas", "one China, one Taiwan", "one China, two governments" or an "independent Taiwan". We place our hopes on the people of Taiwan and resolutely support their patriotic struggle against imperialism and the Chiang clique. As for the military and administrative personnel of the Kuomintang in and from Taiwan, it has been our consistent policy that "all patriots belong to one big family", "whether they come over early or late". It is our hope that they will clearly see the general trend of events and take the road of patriotism and unification of the motherland. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must make all the preparations necessary for the liberation of Taiwan. We are determined to realize the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou and, together with our Taiwan compatriots, accomplish the sacred task of liberating Taiwan and unifying the motherland.

#### The International Situation and China's Foreign Policy

The international situation has been developing in a direction favourable to the people of the world in the last three years. The factors for revolution are growing all the time. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This tide of history rolls on and no force on Earth can hold it back. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening daily and the rivalry between the two hegemonist powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and their contradictions with the people of all lands have become particularly acute, constituting the central problem in international relations today.



The people's struggle against them, and in particular against Soviet social imperialism, is on a higher upsurge than ever, and the international anti-hegemonist united front with the Third World as its main force is broadening. This is an outstanding feature of the fine international situation. More and more countries and people have come to see the aggressive features and paper-tiger essence of the superpowers clearly, waged tit for tat struggles against them and won victory after victory. The people of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos defeated the U.S. aggressors after long years of war and bloodshed. Egypt, Sudan and Somalia categorically abrogated their treaties with the Soviet Union and expelled the Soviet specialists from their countries. Zaire heroically routed the mercenary troops engaged in the invasion masterminded by the Soviet Union. The people of Africa will no longer tolerate the superpowers' riding roughshod over them and have angrily shouted such slogans as "Hands off African affairs!" and "Russia, get out of Africa!" Faced with the superpowers' threats, the Second World countries of Western Europe and other regions are making greater efforts towards unity against hegemonism. The unswerving struggles waged by the people of the world have struck crushing blows to the superpowers which, beset with difficulties at home and abroad and threatened by growing crises, find the going tougher than ever. The course of world events has further borne out the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds.

Unreconciled to their reverses, the two hegemonist powers are intensifying their contention for world domination and frantically pushing their policies of aggression and war. At the same time, the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war. The danger of a world war is a growing menace to the people of the world. So long as social imperialism and imperialism exist, war is inevitable. The contention between the two hegemonist powers reaches every corner of the globe, but the cockpit is Europe. They work overtime to preach "detente" and "disarmament", with no other purpose than to fool people and hide their arms expansion and war preparations. A latecomer among imperialist powers, the Soviet Union relies mainly on its military power to carry out expansion; yet it goes about flaunting banners of "socialism" and "support for revolution" to dupe people and sell its wares. It is the most dangerous source of a new world war. Since things differ from one country to another, the people of each country must determine their own fighting tasks in the light of its specific conditions. But so far as the overall world situation is concerned, there is a strategic task common to the people the world over, and that is to consolidate and expand the international united front against hegemonism, oppose the policies of aggression and war pursued by the superpowers, and in particular by Soviet social-imperialism, and strive to put off the outbreak of a new world war.

At present, some people in the West follow a policy of appeasement towards the Soviet Union with the fond hope of saving themselves at the expense of others. This can only whet the ambitions of the aggressors and hasten the outbreak of war. Our attitude towards a new world war is: "FIRST, WE ARE AGAINST IT; SECOND, WE ARE NOT AFRAID OF IT". We believe that the outbreak of war can be put off, but then the people of all countries must close ranks, sharpen their vigilance, prepare against all eventualities, oppose appeasement, resolutely struggle against the war machinations of the superpowers and foil their strategic dispositions. In this way, even if the superpowers gamble with war, the people of the world will not be caught in a vulnerable state of unpreparedness. We are revolutionary optimists. The future of the world is bright, though the struggle of the people of the world may be arduous and protracted and the road tortuous. Victory is sure to go to the people of the whole world.

The Chinese Government and people uphold proletarian internationalism and are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. Following Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world, with the socialist countries and with the Third World countries, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the superpowers and form the broadest united front against superpower hegemonism. We are ready to establish and develop relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We support all the oppressed people and nations in their revolutionary struggles.

We have always maintained that all countries, whether big or small, are equal and that the big should not bully the small, the strong not domineer over the weak, the rich not oppress the poor. We oppose the superpowers' interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their attempts to monopolize international affairs. No country should seek hegemony in any region or impose its will on others. Whether a country treats others on an equal footing or seeks hegemony is a major criterion by which to tell whether or not it follows the five principles of peaceful coexistence and whether it is a genuine or sham socialist country. A socialist country should set an example in treating others as equals. We firmly stand on the side of the people of the world and will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower, neither today nor in the future when we have become a modern, powerful socialist country. We shall always follow Chairman Mao's teaching that we should GET RID OF GREAT-NATION CHAUVINISM RESOLUTELY, THOROUGHLY, WHOLLY AND COMPLETELY.

The people of the world support each other in their just struggles. We are only fulfilling our bounden internationalist duty when we render assistance to other countries. We will continue to apply the eight principles on providing aid to other countries as proclaimed by Premier Chou En-lai in 1964. We strictly respect the sovereignty of recipient countries and never attach any political strings, ask for any privileges or interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. In rendering assistance, we aim at helping the recipient countries to be self-reliant and not at making them dependent on the aid-giving country. As a developing country, China can provide only a limited amount of aid. Nevertheless, we will try our best to do this job well.

Before liberation, quite a few people left China to make a living abroad. They have contributed their share to the progress of the economy and culture of host countries and have forged bonds of deep friendship with the people there. The policy of our government has been consistent; it supports and encourages the Overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile, as well as those who are already citizens, automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship, but their ties of kinship with the Chinese people remain. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, we expect them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned. We would like to see Chinese nationals residing abroad serve as a bridge to foster the friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the countries concerned.

China is a socialist country. It belongs to the Third World and has experience and tasks in common with the other Third World countries. We resolutely support the developing countries and people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania and other regions in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and in their struggles to win and preserve national independence, defend state sovereignty, develop the national economy, protect national resources and establish a new international economic order. We highly appraise the non-aligned movement, which plays a positive role in the struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and give it firm support.

We have consistently worked for greater unity with the other socialist countries and the development of relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We steadfastly support them in their efforts to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions in their own countries and to carry on their revolution and construction independently, and we steadfastly support them in their struggle to oppose foreign aggression and subversion and to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We hold that the socialist countries should likewise adhere strictly to the five principles of peaceful coexistence in their relations with one another. Should differences arise, they should seek a solution through friendly consultation. We pledge our firm support to the Korean people's just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Chinese people maintain traditional ties of friendship with the people of Southeast Asian countries. In the last few years, China has established diplomatic relations with Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, and there has been a new growth in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. It is our desire to restore or establish diplomatic relations with all the other countries in this region. We support the countries of Southeast Asia in their efforts to strengthen regional economic cooperation and bring about the neutralization of Southeast Asia.

The good neighbourly relations we have with Burma, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran are steadily getting better and better. We support the proposal put forward by the countries concerned to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, South Asia a nuclear-free zone and Nepal a zone of peace. The Chinese people have always cherished feelings of friendship for the Indian people. The people of both countries wish to see an increase in friendly contacts and an improvement in their relations. There are questions pending between China and India; nevertheless, relations can be further improved provided serious efforts are made on both sides.

The Middle Eastern question has long remained unsettled and the trouble is due to super-power support for Israeli aggression and superpower contention for hegemony in the region. The situation in the Middle East is still in a state of flux. We stand four-square behind the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover lost territories and regain national rights. We are against Israeli aggression and against the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States in this part of the world. The Middle Eastern question cannot be solved unless Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people are restored. We are convinced that ultimate victory will go to the people of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people, provided they set store by the general interests of their fight against the common enemy, uphold unity and persevere in struggle. China maintains good relations with most of the Arab countries and hopes to establish and develop relations with the remaining ones.



In recent years, there has been great progress in the friendly and cooperative relations between China and the African countries. The people of Africa are waging a hard struggle to win the complete emancipation of the continent. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against colonialism and racism and for national independence and liberation. In accordance with their strategic need to compete for global hegemony, the superpowers are stepping up their contention in Africa. We resolutely support the African countries in their struggle against aggression, subversion and intervention by the superpowers, and by Soviet social imperialism in particular. Africa belongs to the people of Africa. The African people can settle their own problems by themselves so long as they strengthen unity and exclude outside interference.

In recent years there has been a gradual extension of the relations between China and Latin American countries. We are ready to establish and develop relations with more Latin American countries and enhance mutual understanding and friendship. We support the Latin American countries in their struggle to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to defend their maritime rights, to promote regional economic cooperation and to establish a Latin American nuclear-free zone. We also support the people of Panama in their unrelenting struggle to recover the Panama Canal.

There have been satisfactory developments in the relations between China and the Second World countries, with a steady increase in friendly contacts and economic and cultural interchange. We are ready to develop our relations with them in diverse fields. We support them in their struggle against threats, interference, subversion and control by the superpowers, and particularly by Soviet social imperialism. We support the West European countries in their efforts to unite against hegemonism, and we hope to see a united and powerful Europe. We also hope to see closer contacts between the Second and Third World countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

China and Japan are close neighbors separated only by a strip of water, and the friendship between their two peoples goes back to ancient times. Since the normalization of relations, contacts and exchanges have been growing in many fields and a long-term trade agreement was recently signed. It is in the fundamental interests of the people of China and Japan to conclude at an early date a treaty of peace and friendship based on the joint statement of the two governments. We firmly support the Japanese people in their just struggle to recover their four northern islands. The people of China and Japan should live in friendship for countless generations.

China and the United States differ in social system and ideology and there are fundamental differences between them. Yet the two countries have quite a few points in common on some issues in the present international situation. The Sino-U.S. Shanghai Communique issued in 1972 has brought a new turn in the relations between the two countries. These relations will continue to improve provided the principles laid down in the communique are seriously carried out. At present, the attitude of the U.S. Government towards the question of Taiwan is the obstacle to the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. When and how is entirely China's internal affair, an internal affair which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. If the relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. This is the unswerving stand of the Chinese Government. The people of China and the United States have always been friendly to each other.



We are willing to increase contacts between the people of our two countries and promote mutual understanding and friendship.

China and the Soviet Union were once friendly neighbours. The people of the two countries forged a profound friendship in their long revolutionary struggles. The Sino-Soviet debates on matters of principle were provoked by the Soviet leading clique through its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The fact that the relations between the two countries have sunk to such a low point today must be traced to the social imperialist policy pursued by this clique. The debates on matters of principle must go on. At the same time, we have always held that such debates should not impede the maintenance of normal state relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet leading clique has expressed its desire to improve Sino-Soviet state relations in its words, but in actuality it stubbornly clings to its policy of hostility towards China. It has gone to the length of arrogantly demanding that we change Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is nothing but a pipedream. If the Soviet leading clique really desires to improve the state relations between the two countries, it should prove its sincerity by deeds. First of all, in accordance with the understanding reached between the premiers of the two countries in 1969, it should sign an agreement on maintaining the status quo on the borders, averting armed clashes and disengaging the armed forces of both sides in the disputed border areas, and then enter into negotiations on resolving the boundary question. It should also withdraw its armed forces from the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Sino-Soviet borders, so that the situation there will revert to what it was in the early 1960's. How Sino-Soviet relations will develop is entirely up to the Soviet side.

Chairman Mao taught us: "DIG TUNNELS DEEP, STORE GRAIN EVERYWHERE, AND NEVER SEEK HEGEMONY", and "BE PREPARED AGAINST WAR, BE PREPARED AGAINST NATURAL DISASTERS, AND DO EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE." We must maintain a high level of vigilance and be prepared against a war of aggression launched by the superpowers. WE WILL NOT ATTACK UNLESS WE ARE ATTACKED; IF WE ARE ATTACKED, WE WILL CERTAINLY COUNTERATTACK. The heroic People's Liberation Army and the millions of militia, together with the people of the whole country, must go all out to strengthen preparedness against war and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade us.

Fellow deputies!

Reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, we are fortified by our boundless confidence that we will win new and still greater victories in our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The socialist modernization of our agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology is a great and unprecedented undertaking and a profound revolution, too. There will be momentous changes in town and country, in the productive forces and the relations of production, in the economic base and the superstructure, and in the political, economic, military, cultural and other spheres. In this great struggle, many new situations and new things will emerge and challenge our understanding, and many new contradictions and new problems will arise and challenge us to resolve them. Our thinking and our style and methods of work must be improved and raised to a new level. We must study hard and well, try to grasp new things as they come along, and tackle new problems as they crop up. In this way we shall be able to adapt ourselves to the new situation and tasks.

Our tasks are glorious as well as arduous. Our future is bright. We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our minds, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of "TRANSFORMING CHINA IN THE SPIRIT OF THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS", be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle.

The great banner of Chairman Mao is the invincible banner of unity in struggle and of continued revolution for the people of all nationalities in our country. For over half a century, this glorious banner has guided us out of darkness to a world of light, taken us past innumerable hidden reefs and enabled us to overcome countless difficulties and win triumph after triumph. On our road of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner of Chairman Mao will guide us in continuing to vanquish all internal and external class enemies, surmount all kinds of difficulties and hardships, achieve miracles and make a greater contribution to humanity.

Chairman Mao's behest that we should make China a modern, powerful socialist country must be fulfilled. It can certainly be fulfilled. This is the inexorable trend of history and no reactionary forces can hold it back.

Let us rally still more closely round the Central Committee of the party, hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao and march forward in giant strides!

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities in our country! Long live the great People's Republic of China! Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China! Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

#### Notes:

1. This refers to the slander leveled by the "gang of four" that in the seventeen years following liberation the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line was virtually not implemented on the scientific, educational and cultural fronts, and that the great majority of the intellectuals in our country, including the students trained during these seventeen years, are bourgeois intellectuals.

2. The "ten needs and need nots" are: Need we or needn't we adhere to the party's basic line; need we or needn't we have party leadership; need we or needn't we rely wholeheartedly on the working class; need we or needn't we do well in production; need we or needn't we have rules and regulations; need we or needn't we have socialist accumulation; need we or needn't we apply the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work"; need we or needn't we train the proletariat's own experts; need we or needn't we import new technology; and need we or needn't we stick to planned economy.

3. The "ten shoulds and should nots" are: Should we or shouldn't we uphold the absolute leadership of the party over the army; should we or shouldn't we uphold proletarian party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism; should we or shouldn't we carry on and develop the fine traditions of our party and our army; should we or shouldn't we consolidate the army; should we or shouldn't we strictly observe revolutionary discipline and abide by rules and regulations; should we or shouldn't we form leading bodies that combine the old, the middle-aged and the young in accordance with the five requirements for revolutionary successors; should we or shouldn't we stress stability in the army; should we or shouldn't we carry out rigorous training and set strict demands; should we or shouldn't we adhere to a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia; and should we or shouldn't we be prepared for war.

4. This refers to equalitarianism and arbitrary requisition of labour power, funds and materials, etc.

## Yeh Chien-ying 1 March Report

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[Text] Peking, 7 Mar (HSINHUA)--Report on the Revision of the Constitution (delivered on March 1, 1978 at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China) by Yeh Chien-ying:

Comrade deputies, The draft of the revised constitution of the People's Republic of China now submitted to the congress to discuss, has been drawn up by the Committee for Revising the Constitution, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and composed of all the comrades on the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. During the drafting of the revised text, the committee repeatedly consulted the broad masses both inside and outside the party through the various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, the greater military areas and central departments, and adopted all the correct ideas brought up. The Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China discussed and adopted this draft at its second plenary session, and decided to submit it to the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and approval. As entrusted by the Central Committee of the party, I will now make a report to the congress on the revision of the constitution.

#### On the General Task for the New Period:

The constitution to be adopted by the congress is a new constitution, designed for the new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In September 1976, our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung passed away. Our beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress had passed away some time earlier. The anti-party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, who had long schemed to usurp power and restore capitalism, seized this opportunity to make trouble. The Chinese revolution was in dire peril. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behest, the Central Committee of the party, headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua, led the whole party, army and people in crushing the conspiracy of the "gang of four" at one stroke. It was a historic turning-point in the Chinese revolution, a turning-point from danger to safety. The smashing of the "gang of four" was yet another great victory scored by us after the toppling of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao; it marked the triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in our country. Our socialist revolution and construction entered a new period of development. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua promptly made the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land and convened the party's Eleventh National Congress. The line of the Eleventh Party Congress is being carried out in all fields with the warm support of the people of all our nationalities. The situation throughout the country is excellent.

To meet the needs of the new period in socialist revolution and construction, the constitution of 1975 should be revised. The new constitution should hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, give comprehensive and accurate expression to the Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and to Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should fully reflect the line of the Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the strategic decision to grasp the key link of class struggle and bring about great order across the land formulated by the Central Committee of the party headed by Chairman Hua. It should sum up the experience of our struggle against the "gang of four", uproot its pernicious influence, and consolidate and develop the achievements of the Cultural Revolution. These have been our guidelines in revising the constitution and they also embody what the broad masses primarily demand of the new constitution.



The immortal and historic contributions of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung are solemnly recorded in the preamble of the draft of the revised constitution. The banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory. Our revolution advances from victory to victory whenever Chairman Mao's thought and line are adhered to; it suffers setbacks or even defeats whenever it departs from Chairman Mao's thought and line. This is the most essential lesson taught by the historical experience of China's revolution. The people of all our nationalities take it as their sacred duty to hold high and defend the great banner of Chairman Mao, and they will teach coming generations to do the same. The preamble emphatically points out, "all our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao."

The general task for the whole nation in the new period as set at the Eleventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China is laid down in legal form in the draft of the revised constitution and written into the preamble. It is: "Persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology by the end of the century."

This general task is based on Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party which he formulated for the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us that socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length and that in this period classes, class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration invariably continue to exist, and that there is the threat of subversion and aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism. In line with this analysis, the preamble states, "We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism."

Chairman Mao always linked revolution closely with construction and called on us to grasp revolution and promote production. To make China a modern, powerful socialist country is a task laid down by Chairman Mao long ago. At the Third National People's Congress held in December 1964, Premier Chou En-lai, on Chairman Mao's instructions, clearly set forth for the people of the whole country the goal of accomplishing the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century so that China's economy will advance in the front ranks of the world. Having defeated the three bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the Cultural Revolution, we now have adequate conditions for accomplishing this task. In the course of achieving the four modernizations, we must continue to carry out consistent and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education in the political, economic and cultural spheres so as to triumph over the forces of capitalism and their corrupting and corrosive influence on the Chinese Communist Party and the organs of our state. What we must do at present and for some time to come is to deepen the struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four" and get rid of its pernicious influence. Unless we firmly grasp the key link of class struggle, we cannot consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor will it be possible for us to accomplish the task of the four modernizations. Likewise, unless we bring the superiority of the socialist system into full play and speedily develop the productive forces so as to secure, step



by step, a powerful material base of modern large-scale production for our socialist system, we shall be unable to check the growth of the forces of capitalism effectively and, in the event of aggression by social-imperialism and imperialism, to avoid being at the receiving end of their attacks. The criminal purpose of the "gang of four" in sabotaging our socialist revolution and construction and in opposing the four modernizations was to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, thus reducing China once again to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Chairman Mao teaches us: "CLASS STRUGGLE FOR PRODUCTION AND SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT ARE THE THREE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS FOR BUILDING A MIGHTY SOCIALIST COUNTRY."

"THESE MOVEMENTS ARE A SURE GUARANTEE THAT COMMUNISTS WILL BE FREE FROM BUREAUCRACY AND IMMUNE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND DOGMATISM, AND WILL FOR EVER REMAIN INVINCIBLE. THEY ARE A RELIABLE GUARANTEE THAT THE PROLETARIAT WILL BE ABLE TO UNITE WITH THE BROAD WORKING MASSES AND REALIZE A DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP." Our general task for the new period requires that we grasp the three great revolutionary movements simultaneously, in order to attain our goal of building a powerful socialist country.

The preamble outlines the broad scope of our revolutionary united front fully and in concrete terms, and it lays emphasis on the great unity of the people of all China's nationalities on the broadest possible base. We must unite with all the forces that can be united, correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions and strive to create a nationwide political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness. Without this great unity of the people, it will be impossible to accomplish the general task for the new period. Chairman Mao taught us time and again: "THE PROLETARIAT MUST RELY ON ITS BROAD ALLIES TO EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP, IT CANNOT DO SO ALL BY ITSELF." The Chinese proletariat "MUST RELY ON THE SEVERAL HUNDRED MILLION POOR AND LOWER-MIDDLE PEASANTS, CITY POOR, BADLY-OFF HANDICRAFTSMEN AND REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS IN ORDER TO EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP--OTHERWISE IT CANNOT." "WORKERS, PEASANTS, URBAN PETTY-BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS, PATRIOTIC INTELLECTUALS, PATRIOTIC CAPITALISTS AND OTHER PATRIOTIC DEMOCRATS TOGETHER COMPRISE MORE THAN 95 PERCENT OF THE WHOLE POPULATION. UNDER OUR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP, THEY ALL BELONG TO THE CATEGORY OF THE PEOPLE." This comprehensive and scientific class appraisal which Chairman Mao made of the various social forces that our proletarian dictatorship must rely on and unite is a most profound strategic concept. We must uphold it in our struggle to carry out our general task for the new period.

Chairman Mao always fully esteemed the profound significance of international support to the victory of the Chinese revolution, and the world significance of the victory of the Chinese revolution. China's population is one-fifth of that of the whole world. The Chinese people should make a greater contribution to humanity. By running China's affairs well and making China a modern, powerful socialist country we will gladden the hearts of the people of all lands. Today, China belongs to the Third World. In future, when it becomes powerful, it will still belong to the Third World. China will never seek hegemony or strive to be a superpower. We must uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great theory of the three worlds, we must unite with all the forces in the world that can be united to form the broadest possible united front in order to oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and oppose a new world war, and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao pointed out, "AS LONG AS WE PERSIST IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP AND UNITE WITH OUR FOREIGN FRIENDS, WE SHALL ALWAYS BE VICTORIOUS." By relying on these two fundamental conditions, we have already won great victories in socialist revolution and construction, and we will surely be able to score still greater victories in our efforts to fulfil the general task for the new period.

# On the Revision of the Articles of the Constitution:

I shall now give some explanations concerning the revision of the articles of the constitution.

First. To turn to account the socialist enthusiasm of the people of all our nationalities in striving for the fulfilment of the general task for the new period, it is imperative to give full play to socialist democracy.

Under our socialist system, the people are the masters of the country. Our socialist democracy is a democracy which truly ensures that the people run state affairs. Speaking on this question, Chairman Mao acutely pointed out: The people must have the right to manage the superstructure; we must not interpret the question of the people's rights to mean that only under the administration of certain people can the masses enjoy the right to work, the right to education, the right to social insurance, etc. He also taught us that, under the socialist system, the right of the working people to manage affairs of state, to run various kinds of enterprises and to administer culture and education is their supreme and fundamental right, without which they can enjoy neither the right to work, nor the right to education and rest, nor any other right.

In the light of this concept of Chairman Mao's the following article has been added to the general principles of the draft: "The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel." With regard to the structure of the state, some specific provisions have been added concerning the improvement of the electoral system and the extension of the functions of the National People's Congress and of the local people's congresses at various levels, so as to enhance the role of the people's congresses at all levels in the political life of the country and enable them to exercise more effectively the state power vested in them by the people. There are also some new provisions on the democratic rights of citizens in the political, economic, cultural, educational and other fields. As for the material conditions necessary to ensure the rights of citizens, these should be gradually expanded on the basis of increased production through the joint efforts of state enterprises, people's communes, collectively owned enterprises, people's organizations and the people themselves under the guidance of the state.

We must earnestly carry out democratic management with the participation of the broad masses, from the grass-roots units on up. Whether or not grass-roots units are democratically run is a vital link in ensuring the people's democratic rights. It has always been a rewarding practice of our People's liberation Army to exercise democracy at the company level in three main fields, namely, political democracy, economic democracy and military democracy, and this has attained three major objectives: A high degree of political unity, improvement in living conditions and a higher level of military technique and tactics. Since this could be done in our armed forces, why can't it be done in our factories, villages, stores, offices and schools? Take the rural people's communes, production brigades or production teams, for example. It is necessary to have good democratic management at each of these three levels in every aspect of their work, whether it is production management, the distribution of income, the livelihood and welfare of the members, or anything else. This is a vital matter affecting the immediate interests of several hundred million peasants. We have already accumulated a good deal of experience in democratic management in grass-roots units including enterprises and public institutions.

We must seriously sum up and apply this experience so as gradually to perfect a system of democratic management suited to our conditions--a system which gives full expression to chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Our party has always urged giving broad play to democracy among the masses including the use of great democracy when necessary. Chairman Mao teaches us: "DEMOCRACY IS A METHOD, AND IT ALL DEPENDS ON TO WHOM IT IS APPLIED AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE. WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF GREAT DEMOCRACY. AND WHAT WE FAVOUR IS GREAT DEMOCRACY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT." It is precisely for the purpose of ensuring great democracy under the leadership of the proletariat that the draft of the revised constitution provides that citizens "have the right to 'speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters'." The "gang of four" waved the banner of "great democracy" to oppose the leadership of the party and the proletariat and said such things as "the greater the disturbances, the better," "kick aside the party committees in order to make revolution" and "the correct orientation is to direct the spearhead upwards against the leadership." In so doing they were attempting to put their gang above the party and the people, acting like overlords not bound by party discipline and the laws of the state, and practising revisionism, splittism and conspiracy so as to usurp power in the party, the army and the state and establish their gang's fascist rule. Such "great democracy" would mean a vengeful come-back of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements, and an anti-party and anti-socialist rightist coup. Just look at the areas and departments which were under the gang's strict control and seriously ravaged and you will see that there evildoers were in power while good people suffered and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements wreaked vengeance while new-born counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois elements ruled supreme; these scoundrels even took measures of dictatorship against the revolutionary masses and cadres whom they cruelly persecuted; they gravely undermined socialist law and order and deprived the people of their just democratic rights and guarantees of personal safety. Isn't it fair and just for the broad masses to reject that kind of "great democracy?" Chairman Mao long ago said: "IF ANYONE RESORTS TO WHAT HE CALLS GREAT DEMOCRACY TO OPPOSE THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND TRIES TO OVERTHROW THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WE SHALL EXERCISE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT OVER HIM."

In our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must be both broad democracy and a high degree of centralism, and this is proletarian democratic centralism. The "gang of four" not only trampled on democracy but also impaired centralism, disrupted socialist discipline and undermined the unity of the country and the unity of the people. In eliminating the gang's pernicious influence, we must energetically revive and carry forward our democratic tradition and fight against any encroachment on the people's democratic life or violations of the rights of citizens. At the same time, we must mobilize and rely on the masses to put things in order in every field of work and we must combat anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and all acts that impair discipline and unity. On the basis of democracy, we must vigorously strengthen centralism and heighten our sense of organization and discipline so as to achieve genuine unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action. In 1959 Chairman Mao said emphatically: "NOW THE TASK FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY, THE WHOLE NATION AND THE WHOLE PARTY IS TO MAKE CHINA A POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY IN THE SPAN OF SEVERAL FIVE-YEAR PLANS. THIS CALLS FOR UNITY AND IRON DISCIPLINE: IT CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT IRON DISCIPLINE. HOW ELSE, I ASK YOU, CAN WE REACH SUCH A GOAL?" This spirit is embodied in the draft of the revised constitution. With regard to the duties of citizens an article is added on the need to take care of and protect public property, observe labour discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.



Democratic centralism is of fundamental importance in the revolution, especially at present. Once democracy is exercised to the full and democratic centralism is strengthened, we will be able to improve our work more and more and the cause will advance much more smoothly.

Second, the draft makes fairly big changes in the cadres, a retraining of a part of state and state personnel and still indispensable, strict demands on them. The most essential is that the cadres in contact with the masses.

Our people are a very fine people. Having been through the Great Cultural Revolution, the masses have raised their political consciousness to a much higher level. They take a deep interest in state affairs, know how to distinguish right from wrong in matters of line, have boundless faith in the Chinese Communist Party, in Chairman Mao and in the Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and have tremendous enthusiasm for transforming China into a modern, powerful socialist state. Chairman Mao always taught us to follow the mass line, to do no harm to the masses, and the masses are the main force in the revolution. We must always maintain contact with the masses, it is necessary to have our cadres in contact with the masses, respect their sense of responsibility to the revolution, take for and protect their socialist enthusiasm and initiative, share their joys and sorrows, and earnestly heed their criticisms and complaints, particularly in relation to leading cadres and leading cadres. All well-meant criticisms from the grass roots must be warmly encouraged. The people's organs should be fully democratic. Leading cadres must go down to the grass roots and among the masses to investigate matters, so that their own thinking and work can adequately express the interests and desires of the masses; they must earnestly help the masses solve problems for which the masses urgently demand solutions, and serve the people heart and soul.

We have talked about the mass line for so many years, and yet there are still many who, because of the vicious influence of the bourgeoisie, have not been able to remould their world outlook properly, are going against the mass line. Some don't make investigations, don't go down to a grass-roots unit to gain experience, don't consult the masses when problems arise, don't concern themselves with the well-being of the masses, don't participate in collective production, don't treat the masses as equals. Others sit up high in leadership, make decisions and act dictatorially, suppress differing opinions and try to keep people from voicing their ideas while they themselves make mistakes, issuing ignorant orders and even stoop to deception. Still others revel in their high position, pursue comfort, squander money and exploit their status for personal gain. They love extravagance, are addicted to the lazy life, and the people's interests mean nothing to them. Such cadres don't have an atom of the Communist spirit. They reek of bureaucracy from head to toe and arouse nothing but disgust among the masses. Unless these cadres get rid of their bureaucratic airs and mend their ways, the masses will not allow them to remain in leadership. Those who are unwilling to do so will be dealt with in accordance with party discipline. Chairman Mao says: "WE MUST OVERCOME BUREAUCRACY AND FAITHFULLY ORIENT OURSELVES TO THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE IF WE ARE TO UNDERTAKE NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF A SOCIALISM." We must follow his teachings and do away with bureaucratic airs, go all out to work, seek the truth from facts, and strive to correct all shortcomings and mistakes existing in our work, in our work style and in our work system. We must identify ourselves with the masses and together work hard to make China a socialist country. It is what the people expect of us and what we must live up to.



Drawing on the experiences of the inner-party struggles between the two lines, Chairman Mao set forth the basic principles "PRACTISE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE." Whether or not the leadership at all levels of party and state organs is in the hands of Marxists who adhere to these basic principles is a crucial matter. The Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua attaches the utmost importance to the question of consolidating and building up the leading bodies at all levels. This spirit is embodied in the provision in the draft that the leading personnel of our state organs at all levels must conform to the five requirements set forth by Chairman Mao for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause, and that their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young cadres. This provision obligates us to know our subordinates, put them where they can do the best work, and appoint people by merit. We must oppose the gang's reactionary line of appointing people by favouritism and using only those from its own gang and factions, and make serious efforts to eliminate the impurities of organization in our state organs, and especially in the leading bodies, which have resulted from the gang's interference and sabotage.

In relation to the question of state organs another point to be mentioned is that the draft explicitly stipulates that our country in the main applies a three-level system of local organs of political power, namely, at the provincial, county and commune levels. Prefectures under the provinces and autonomous regions, with the exception of national autonomous prefectures, are not classified as a level of political power. There instead of people's congresses and revolutionary committees, administrative offices will be set up as agencies of the revolutionary committees of the provinces or autonomous regions, and administrative commissioners and deputy commissioners will be appointed. Where districts are set up under counties, they likewise are not a level of political power, but are agencies of the county revolutionary committees. These stipulations are aimed at trimming the administrative structure and raising efficiency.

Third. The draft also stipulates that the people's state apparatus must be reinforced and dictatorship over the enemy strengthened.

With regard to the people's armed forces the draft has added: "The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia." The draft further stipulates that it is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia.

In view of the extreme importance of fighting against violations of the law and discipline, the draft requires that people's procuratorates be set up. Procuratorial organs at various levels of the state exercise their authority, within the limits prescribed by the constitution and the law, over state organs, state personnel and all citizens, to ensure their observance of the constitution and the law. While strengthening the unified leadership of the party and relying on the masses, it is necessary to give full scope to the role of such specialized bodies as the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts. These should complement and restrict each other. This is very important for protecting the people and dealing blows to the enemy. The "gang of four" raved about "smashing the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts" and put their words into action, seriously undermining the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They went so far as to exercise dictatorship within the party and the ranks of the people. We must thoroughly expose and condemn the gang's crimes in undermining our public security and procuratorial organs and the people's courts, sum up experience, draw lessons and strengthen our socialist legal system.

Acts of smashing and grabbing are strictly forbidden. Detention and arrests must follow legal procedures and the system of checking and approval must be strictly observed in this regard. In the trial of cases, stress must be laid on the weight of evidence and on investigation and study. To obtain confessions by coercion and to give them credence is strictly forbidden. Only thus will it be possible to protect the people effectively and strike sure, accurate and relentless blows at the enemy, with the stress on accuracy.

The draft specifies that the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat "suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries, and punishes new-born bourgeois elements and other bad elements." An important change is that the provision regarding the punishment for new-born bourgeois elements has been added in conformity with the present situation of the class struggle in our country. It refers to those newly emerged elements who resist socialist revolution, disrupt socialist construction, gravely undermine socialist public ownership, appropriate social property or violate the criminal law. Not a few of the embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, gangsters, smash-and-grabbers and other evil-doers who have committed serious crimes and offences against the law and discipline or disrupted public order in our socialist society belong to this category of new-born bourgeois elements. Chairman Mao has said: "THE REACTIONARY CLASSES WHICH HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN ARE STILL ATTEMPTING A COME-BACK. IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, NEW BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS WILL STILL EMERGE." Though not numerous, new-born bourgeois elements of this kind, acting in collusion with the old unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and bourgeois elements, are now the most rampant section of the urban and rural capitalist forces. To exercise dictatorship over them is very necessary.

The draft also stipulates: "The state deprives of political rights as prescribed by law those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour." There has been a differentiation over the years among the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and elements guilty of counter-revolutionary or other crimes in the past. The policy consistently pursued by our party and state in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings is to analyse the conduct of each one of them and deal with every case on its merits, giving them a way out. The provision quoted from the draft means that on the one hand, we must continue to exercise dictatorship over the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists, counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements, and strengthen supervision over such persons so as to reform them, dealing resolute blows particularly at those who have sought class revenge aided and abetted by the "gang of four", committed serious crimes and incurred the bitter hatred of the masses. It also means that, on the other hand, with regard to those who after remoulding and education have really behaved well, we should remove their labels as landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries or bad elements and give them citizenship rights with the consent of the masses on the basis of public appraisal and approval by a revolutionary committee at the county level. This work must be done seriously, prudently and systematically under the unified leadership of party committees at various levels and in accordance with specific policies. What if some such persons make trouble again after their labels are removed? Well, we will just mobilize the masses to strike them down--and put their labels back again.

Fourth. In accordance with the general task for the new period, the present revised constitution includes clear-cut stipulations for the consolidation of the socialist economic base and for high-speed development of the productive forces.

In the general principles of the draft, the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is given more prominence. In our country, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was essentially completed long ago, and socialist public ownership consisting of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by working people has been fully established for some time. This great victory was already recorded in the existing constitution. But with regard to the question of ownership the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is by no means over. Facts over the past two decades have borne this out repeatedly. Especially in recent years, a handful of old and new bourgeois elements, aided and abetted by the "gang of four" and using all kinds of illegal means, have unscrupulously engaged in embezzlement and speculation, undermined the state plan and disrupted financial and economic discipline, doing grave damage to the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and that owned collectively by working people. In conducting the mass movements to deepen the exposure and criticism of the "gang of four" and to learn from Taching in industry and Tachai in agriculture, we must boldly mobilize the masses and effectively strengthen the publicly-owned economy, launching a large-scale attack against the capitalist forces, urban and rural, and striking relentless blows at the bourgeois elements, old or new, who are guilty of serious crimes. As for capitalist tendencies in the ranks of the people, they must be earnestly corrected through socialist education. On the economic front the struggle to safeguard socialist public ownership is an important task in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and it will long continue to be so. Only by waging persistent struggles against capitalist forces and tendencies, and at the same time raising the productive forces to a fairly high level fairly rapidly can socialist public ownership be fully consolidated and further expanded.

With regard to the rural people's commune sector of the economy which is collectively owned, the draft says: "At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit." This is provided because the nation-wide situation indicates that the "three-level ownership", with the production team as the basic accounting unit, corresponds in general with the present level of development of the productive forces in the countryside. The draft stipulates: "A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe." A number of production brigades with sound leading bodies have already become basic accounting units, because they possess the necessary conditions, such as a fairly strong economic base, fairly balanced economic development between their production teams and the masses' willingness to make the move. We should adopt dynamic but steady policies and steps, proceeding from reality to enable the production brigades to become basic accounting units, one by one or batch by batch, whenever the conditions are really ripe. Where the conditions are not ripe, we should not hastily make the move. Instead we should energetically prepare the conditions by conscientiously implementing the various policies concerning the rural economy and by developing production.



The system of distribution is a vital feature of the relations of production. The principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" can only be applied on the basis of socialist public ownership of the means of production. It is a socialist principle. It is necessary to give appropriate over-all consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. Only by correctly implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" in the distribution of the means of livelihood can the consolidation of socialist public ownership and the development of the productive forces be promoted. The "gang of four" slanderously alleged that "to each according to his work" is a capitalist principle. They attacked our system and policies of payment for labour which embody this principle as the use of material incentives as bait, and thus they undermined the application of this principle, dampened the working people's socialist enthusiasm and disrupted socialist production. We must thoroughly expose and criticize the gang for the theoretical confusion it created and the practical damage it wrought, and conscientiously apply the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" as stipulated in the constitution.

Chairman Mao once said: "TO COMBINE POLITICAL WORK WITH THE NECESSARY PRACTICE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO WORK--THIS, I THINK, IS GOOD." Political and ideological education is in command, it is dominant and takes the lead. We have all along opposed putting bonuses instead of proletarian politics in command. We must do our ideological and political work thoroughly and meticulously, help the working people to keep on raising their political consciousness, and educate them in learning from the people of Taching and Tachai the communist attitude towards labour, learning from the spirit of defiance of hardship and death, of indifference to fame and personal gain, and of devoting one's ability to contributing more to socialism. At the same time, it should be understood that the income of the working people will differ in accordance with their production and work. "TO REJECT THIS DIFFERENCE IS TO REJECT THE SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE OF TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK AND MORE PAY FOR MORE WORK." Hence, the state and the collective should practice distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done. Those who do outstanding work should be commended and appropriately rewarded in accordance with the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with stress on the former.

The general principles section of the draft states, "the state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, it undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step." A significant addition here is the reference to high-speed development of the national economy and steady increase of the productive forces. This is a vital prerequisite for the triumph of socialism over capitalism. "IN SAYING THAT THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION CORRESPOND BETTER TO THE CHARACTER OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES THAN DID THE OLD RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, WE MEAN THAT THEY ALLOW THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES TO DEVELOP AT A SPEED UNATTAINABLE IN THE OLD SOCIETY, SO THAT PRODUCTION CAN EXPAND STEADILY AND INCREASINGLY MEET THE CONSTANTLY GROWING NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE." The development of economic construction in our country over the past 28 years is a preliminary demonstration of this superiority of the socialist system. However, the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have seriously affected the speed of our national construction. Especially when the "gang of four" was preaching that it would "prefer socialist low speed" and wildly sabotaging production the development of our national economy slowed down to a standstill and even slipped back.



Now that the gang has been toppled, we have already changed this situation. We must do all we can to bring about a really broad high-speed development of China's productive forces and so initiate, on a planned and proportionate basis, a sound, steady and sustained leap forward in our national economy.

High-speed development of the productive forces depends on putting proletarian politics in command, on adherence to the mass line, and on adherence to the party's general line for building socialism and the series of policies known as "walking on two legs". All this is expressed in the draft of the revised constitution. In the general principles, a separate article is devoted to our work in science and technology; this shows the importance of stepping up such work in order to fulfil our general task for the new period. We must fight this battle well, intensify scientific research and promote technical innovation and technical revolution so as to accelerate the development of the productive forces.

Fifth. To accomplish the general task for the new period requires an upsurge of construction in the cultural sphere as well as an upsurge in economic construction. The draft gives this ample attention.

A great effort to expand education is vital both for our revolution and for economic construction. To stress this point, a separate article in the general principles section is devoted to educational work. We must follow the principles laid down by Chairman Mao, work well and conscientiously in the revolution in education, rapidly develop our country's educational undertakings of all types and at all levels and raise the quality of education and the cultural, scientific and technological level of the whole nation. All this is essential to fulfilling the general task for the new period.

As to the development of socialist culture, special mention should be made of the following provision in the general principles: "The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture" and the policy "let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend".

To uphold the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the spheres of ideology and culture, the proletariat must grasp the leadership and implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in all of them, and use Marxism as an ideological weapon to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie so as to enable socialist culture to flourish. This is what Chairman Mao wanted us to do when he talked about THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE, INCLUDING ALL THE VARIOUS SPHERES OF CULTURE.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's consistent teachings, in our struggles in the ideological and cultural spheres we must correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions that differ in nature. We must never allow counter-revolutionaries to have their way in their anti-party, anti-socialist and anti-Marxist activities in these fields. "OUTSIDE THE RANKS OF THE PEOPLE, IT IS CRIMINAL TO ALLOW COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES TO BE UNRULY IN WORD OR DEED AND IT IS LEGITIMATE TO EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP OVER THEM." Within the ranks of the people questions of an ideological, academic or artistic nature can only be solved by the method of reasoning, criticism and discussion, and the method of dictatorship should never be used. "WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE PEOPLE, IT IS CRIMINAL TO SUPPRESS FREEDOM, TO SUPPRESS THE PEOPLE'S CRITICISM OF THE SHORTCOMINGS AND MISTAKES OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OR TO SUPPRESS FREE DISCUSSION IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES."

The policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend put forward by Chairman Mao is conducive to correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions differing in nature, and is a fundamental policy of our country in the spheres of ideology and culture.

The "gang of four" at one time usurped a substantial portion of leadership in these spheres, but we have already won it back. They turned things upside down with regard to questions of line in various cultural spheres, and now we are gradually setting these things right so as to be able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in these fields correctly and integrally. The "gang of four" tampered with the essence of Chairman Mao's thought on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the cultural realm, flagrantly opposed the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend, persecuted intellectuals, and trampled on fragrant socialist flowers by means of dictatorship while permitting anti-socialist poisonous weeds to grow unchecked. We must thoroughly repudiate these crimes of the gang and resolutely carry out the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend advocated by Chairman Mao. Under this policy, so long as the six political criteria are observed, different forms and styles in art should freely develop, different schools in science should freely contend and questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. We firmly believe that so long as we seriously implement this policy, we will be able to unite the broad masses of intellectuals, urge them on to continue their self-education and self-remoulding, help build up a vast army of working-class intellectuals, strengthen the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all the spheres of ideology and culture, help socialist flowers to bloom and uproot anti-socialist weeds, promote the rapid development of the arts and sciences and create a flourishing situation in our socialist culture.

#### On the Enforcement of The Constitution:

The enactment of the new constitution is a major event in the political life of our people. If we are to bring about great order across the land, we must have rules for running it. The new constitution is a set of general rules for managing the affairs of the state in the new period.

Our constitution is the concentrated expression of the will of the proletariat and of the people in general. It is clear-cut in its class character and militant in spirit. It is a powerful weapon for maintaining revolutionary order, safeguarding the interests of the working people and protecting the socialist economic base and the productive forces. The people will use this weapon to oppose and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal blows to the enemies of socialism; they will also use this weapon to correctly solve the contradictions among the people so that they can better close their ranks and, marching in step, strive to build a modern, powerful socialist country.

After the constitution is adopted, we must make sure that it is fully observed in letter and spirit. No one will be allowed to violate the constitution. Acts that undermine the socialist legal system, injure the interests of the state and the people or encroach upon the people's rights shall be sternly dealt with, and serious violations will be punished by law. In accordance with the new constitution we shall revise and enact other laws and decrees, as well as rules and regulations for the various fields of work.

In the period when the "gang of four" rode roughshod over the country, they incited anarchism and slandered the socialist legal system and every kind of rational rules and regulations as revisionist and capitalist in their vain attempt to throw our proletarian country into chaos and seize power amid this chaos. Through the enforcement of the new constitution we should eliminate the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and strengthen the socialist legal system so that our work in every field will develop in a more orderly way.

One of the significant functions and powers of the National People's Congress as prescribed by the new constitution is to "supervise the enforcement of the constitution and the law". Local people's congresses at various levels must also "ensure the observance and enforcement of the constitution, laws and decrees" in areas under their administration. In this regard, we should also bring into play the role of the trade unions, the poor and lower-middle peasants' associations, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations. Full play, too, should be given to the significant role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is an important organizational form of the revolutionary united front.

For the purpose of mobilizing and relying upon the strength of the masses for the enforcement of the constitution, we should now launch a nation-wide campaign to publicize the constitution and educate the people, and link this campaign with deep-going exposure and criticism of the "gang of four". Such propaganda and educational work should be done regularly from now on. The strengthening of the socialist legal system answers the needs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the people, and accords with the people's fundamental interests. The socialist legal system is a deterrent to, and a restraining force upon, law-breakers and offenders; for enemies who sabotage socialist revolution and construction it is a merciless iron fist; but for the masses of the people it is a code of conduct which they voluntarily observe. Through study of the constitution, the people should steadily raise their political consciousness, heighten their awareness of being masters of the country, enhance their sense of law, correctly exercise the rights of citizens as stipulated in the constitution, faithfully fulfill their duties as citizens, supervise the enforcement of the constitution and, as the country's masters, properly administer and build up our socialist state.

State organs at all levels should organize the study of the constitution well. Whatever their rank, all personnel in the state organs are servants of the people; they should all be examples and take the lead in implementing the constitution and abiding by it. In handling both contradictions among the people and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves we should act according to the provisions of the constitution and guard the sanctity of the law. Speaking of eliminating counter-revolutionaries, Chairman Mao said: "THE LEGAL SYSTEM MUST BE RESPECTED. ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW DOES NOT MEAN BEING BOUND HAND AND FOOT." We should mobilize the people and struggle against the enemy in accordance with the law, with our hands and feet unfettered, so that all class enemies will realize their only way out is to behave themselves and obey the law of the state. At the same time we should protect the rights of the people in accordance with the law. We should see to it that all who support socialism feel that their freedom of person, democratic rights, and legitimate economic interests as prescribed by the constitution are solidly assured.

We should mobilize the masses of the people to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a handful of class enemies, thus heightening the people's morale and deflating the enemy's arrogance.



The revolutionary people will feel proud and happy while class enemies will not dare speak or act in an unruly way. In all factories, villages, schools, army units and offices, we should establish good order characterized by stability and unity, order which is indispensable for revolution, production, other work and study. Then the masses of cadres and people will be able to work in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness and contribute their best efforts to socialism.

Comrade deputies! Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and premier of the State Council, has made a report on the work of the government to this congress. The report reviews and sums up the work done since the Fourth National People's Congress and in particular during the last year or so since the smashing of the "gang of four". It sets forth comprehensively and systematically the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a modern, powerful socialist state. It has given full expression to the lofty ideals and high aspirations of our people who are resolved to work hard for the prosperity and transformation of China, and has charted the road for our socialist cause. It is a great programmatic document.

The people of our country are most happy because we have our wise leader Chairman Hua at the helm. Our Chairman Hua has all along held high the great banner of Chairman Mao and unswervingly carried out his revolutionary line. He is Chairman Mao's good student, and Chairman Mao chose him as his successor. Chairman Hua was appointed at a time of turmoil, he was entrusted with his mission at a critical and difficult moment. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party headed by Chairman Hua, the whole party, army and people, by their joint exertions, have succeeded in turning the tide and created a bright new situation in just over a year. That we have overcome so grave crisis and scored so signal a victory in so short a time, at such an extraordinary historical juncture, proves that the line, principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua are entirely correct. With all their hearts the people love Chairman Hua and support the Central Committee which he heads. We all take great pride in the fact that our party and our country again have their own wise leader.

Our country has tremendous prospects. At the start of the 20th century, Dr Sun Yat-sen, the precursor of the Chinese revolution, led the 1911 revolution, but it ended in failure. Chairman Mao led us for over half a century and founded and built the new socialist China. Now Chairman Hua carries on the cause and leads us forward on a new long march. Raising the great banner of Chairman Mao, holding firmly to the line of the eleventh party congress and mobilizing all positive factors inside and outside the party and at home and abroad, the Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua is leading the whole party, army and people in revolution and construction and modernization, and in fulfilling, step by step, the general task for the new period. In another 23 years when China enters the 21st century, how changed our socialist motherland will be! Let our whole nation work together with one mind, overcome all difficulties, defeat our enemies, transform China into a great modern, powerful socialist country and forge ahead towards the great goal of communism. This is the behest of our great leader Chairman Mao and the great cause for which our beloved Premier Chou, Chairman Chu Te of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation worked and fought all their lives, and for which countless revolutionary martyrs laid down their own lives. We shall certainly carry this great cause to triumph.



## Text of New Constitution

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[Text] Peking, 7 Mar (HSINHUA) --

The Constitution of  
the People's Republic  
of China

(Adopted on March 5, 1978 by  
the Fifth National People's  
Congress of the People's  
Republic of China at its  
First Session)

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## Preamble

After more than a century of heroic struggle the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China headed by our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by means of people's revolutionary war, winning complete victory in the new-democratic revolution, and in 1949 founded the People's Republic of China.

The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the historical period of socialism in our country. Since then, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the people of all our nationalities have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs and have won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction through repeated struggles against enemies both at home and abroad and through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country has been consolidated and strengthened, and China has become a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder of the People's Republic of China. All our victories in revolution and construction have been won under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The fundamental guarantee that the people of all our nationalities will struggle in unity and carry the proletarian revolution through to the end is always to hold high and staunchly to defend the great banner of Chairman Mao.

The triumphant conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has ushered in a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. In accordance with the basic line of the Chinese Communist Party for the entire historical period of socialism, the general task for the people of the whole country in this new period is to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great, powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technology by the end of the century.

We must persevere in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the struggle for the socialist road against the capitalist road. We must oppose revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We must be prepared to deal with subversion and aggression against our country by social-imperialism and imperialism.

We should consolidate and expand the revolutionary united front which is led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, and which unites the large numbers of intellectuals and other working people, patriotic democratic parties, patriotic personage, our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and our countrymen residing abroad. We should enhance the great unity of all the nationalities in our country. We should correctly distinguish and handle the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. We should endeavour to create among the people of the whole country a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to help bring all positive factors into play, overcome all difficulties, better consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and build up our country more rapidly.

Taiwan is China's sacred territory. We are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland.

In international affairs, we should establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Our country will never seek hegemony, or strive to be a superpower. We should uphold proletarian internationalism. In accordance with the theory of the three worlds, we should strengthen our unity with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, the socialist countries, and the Third World countries, and we should unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by the social-imperialist and imperialist superpowers to form the broadest possible international united front against the hegemonism of the superpowers and against a new world war, and strive for the progress and emancipation of humanity.

## Chapter One General Principles

### Article 1

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

## Article 2

The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China.

The guiding ideology of the People's Republic of China is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

## Article 3

All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the National People's Congress and the local peoples congresses at various levels.

The National People's Congress, the local peoples congresses at various levels and all other organs of state practise democratic centralism.

## Article 4

The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state.

All the nationalities are equal. There should be unity and fraternal love among the nationalities and they should help and learn from each other. Discrimination against, or oppression of, an nationality, and acts which undermine the unity of the nationalities are prohibited. Big-nationality chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed.

All the nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways.

Regional autonomy applies in an area where a minority nationality lives in a compact community. All the national autonomous areas are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China.

## Article 5

There are mainly two kinds of ownership of the means of production in the People's Republic of China at the present stage: socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by the working people.

The state allows non-agricultural individual labourers to engage in individual labour involving no exploitation of others, within the limits permitted by law and under unified arrangement and management by organizations at the basic level in cities and towns or in rural areas. At the same time, it guides these individual labourers step by step onto the road of socialist collectivization.

## Article 6

The state sector of the economy, that is, the socialist sector owned by the whole people, is the leading force in the national economy.



Mineral resources, waters and those forests, undeveloped lands and other marine and land resources owned by the state are the property of the whole people.

The state may requisition by purchase, take over for use, or nationalize land under conditions prescribed by law.

#### Article 7

The rural people's commune sector of the economy is a socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. At present, it generally takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. A production brigade may become the basic accounting unit when its conditions are ripe.

Provided that the absolute predominance of the collective economy of the people's commune is ensured, commune members may farm small plots of land for personal needs, engage in limited household side-line production, and in pastoral areas they may also keep a limited number of livestock for personal needs.

#### Article 8

Socialist public property shall be inviolable. The state ensures the consolidation and development of the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and of the socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people.

The state prohibits any person from using any means whatsoever to disrupt the economic order of the society, undermine the economic plans of the state, encroach upon or squander state and collective property, or injure the public interest.

#### Article 9

The state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, and other means of livelihood.

#### Article 10

The state applies the socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Work is an honourable duty for every citizen able to work. The state promotes socialist labour emulation, and, putting proletarian politics in command, it applies the policy of combining moral encouragement with material reward, with the stress on the former, in order to heighten the citizens' socialist enthusiasm and creativeness in work.

#### Article 11

The state adheres to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. It undertakes the planned, proportionate and high-speed development of the national economy, and it continuously develops the productive forces, so as to consolidate the country's independence and security and improve the people's material and cultural life step by step.

In developing the national economy, the state adheres to the principle of building our country independently, with the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift. It adheres to the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor, and it adheres to the principle of bringing the initiative of both the central and local authorities into full play under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

The state protects the environment and natural resources and prevents and eliminates pollution and other hazards to the public.

#### Article 12

The state devotes major efforts to developing science, expands scientific research, promotes technical innovation and technical revolution and adopts advanced techniques wherever possible in all departments of the national economy. In scientific and technological work we must follow the practice of combining professional contingents with the masses, and combining learning from others with our own creative efforts.

#### Article 13

The state devotes major efforts to developing education in order to raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation. Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour and must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.

#### Article 14

The state upholds the leading position of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in all spheres of ideology and culture. All cultural undertakings must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

The state applies the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" so as to promote the development of the arts and sciences and bring about a flourishing socialist culture.

#### Article 15

All organs of state must constantly maintain close contact with the masses of the people, rely on them, heed their opinions, be concerned for their weal and woe, streamline administration, practise economy, raise efficiency and combat bureaucracy.

The leading personnel of state organs at all levels must conform to the requirements for successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause and their composition must conform to the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young.

## Article 16

The personnel of organs of state must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, wholeheartedly serve the people, endeavour to perfect their professional competence, take an active part in collective productive labour, accept supervision by the masses, be models in observing the constitution and the law, correctly implement the policies of the state, seek the truth from facts, and must not have recourse to deception or exploit their position and power to seek personal gain.

## Article 17

The state adheres to the principle of socialist democracy, and ensures to the people the right to participate in the management of state affairs and of all economic and cultural undertakings, and the right to supervise the organs of state and their personnel.

## Article 18

The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities, punishes all traitors and counterrevolutionaries, and punishes new-born bourgeois elements and other bad elements.

The state deprives of political rights, as prescribed by law, those landlords, rich peasants and reactionary capitalists who have not yet been reformed, and at the same time it provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labour and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labour.

## Article 19

The chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the armed forces of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the workers' and peasants' own armed force led by the Communist Party of China; it is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state devotes major efforts to the revolutionization and modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, strengthens the building of the militia and adopts a system under which our armed forces are a combination of the field armies, the regional forces and the militia.

The fundamental task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is: to safeguard the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by social-imperialism, imperialism and their lackeys.

## Chapter Two

## The Structure of the State

## Section 1

## The National People's Congress

## Article 20

The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power.



## Article 21

The National People's Congress is composed of deputies elected by the people's congresses of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government, and by the People's Liberation Army. The deputies should be elected by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The National People's Congress is elected for a term of five years. Under special circumstances, its term of office may be extended or the succeeding National People's Congress may be convened before its due date.

The National People's Congress holds one session each year. When necessary, the session may be advanced or postponed.

## Article 22

The National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) To amend the constitution;
- (2) To make laws;
- (3) To supervise the enforcement of the constitution and the law;
- (4) To decide on the choice of the premier of the State Council upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China;
- (5) To decide on the choice of other members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier of the State Council;
- (6) To elect the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (7) To examine and approve the National Economic Plan, the state budget and the final state accounts;
- (8) To confirm the following administrative divisions: provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (9) To decide on questions of war and peace; and
- (10) To exercise such other functions and powers as the National People's Congress deems necessary.

## Article 23

The National People's Congress has the power to remove from office the members of the State Council, the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

## Article 24

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is the permanent organ of the National People's Congress. It is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is composed of the following members:

The chairman;  
The vice-chairmen;  
The secretary-general; and  
Other members.

The National People's Congress elects the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and has the power to recall its members.

## Article 25

The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) To conduct the election of deputies to the National People's Congress;
- (2) To convene the sessions of the National People's Congress;
- (3) To interpret the constitution and laws and to enact decrees;
- (4) To supervise the work of the State Council, the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (5) To change and annul inappropriate decisions adopted by the organs of state power of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (6) To decide on the appointment and removal of individual members of the State Council upon the recommendation of the premier of the State Council when the National People's Congress is not in session;
- (7) To appoint and remove vice-presidents of the Supreme People's Court and deputy chief procurators of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;
- (8) To decide on the appointment and removal of plenipotentiary representatives abroad;
- (9) To decide on the ratification and abrogation of treaties concluded with foreign states;
- (10) To institute state titles of honour and decide on their conferment;
- (11) To decide on the granting of pardons;

(12) To decide on the proclamation of a state of war in the event of armed attack on the country when the National People's Congress is not in session; and

(13) To exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress.

#### Article 26

The chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress presides over the work of the Standing Committee; receives foreign diplomatic envoys; and in accordance with the decisions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee, promulgates laws and decrees, dispatches and recalls plenipotentiary representatives abroad, ratifies treaties concluded with foreign states and confers state titles of honour.

The vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress assist the chairman in his work and may exercise part of the chairman's functions and powers on his behalf.

#### Article 27

The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee may establish special committees as deemed necessary.

#### Article 28

Deputies to the National People's Congress have the right to address inquiries to the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and the ministries and commissions of the State Council, which are all under obligation to answer.

#### Article 29

Deputies to the National People's Congress are subject to supervision by the units which elect them. These electoral units have the power to replace at any time the deputies they elect, as prescribed by law.

### Section II

#### The State Council

#### Article 30

The State Council is the central people's government and the executive organ of the highest organ of state power; it is the highest organ of state administration.

The State Council is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress, or when the National People's Congress is not in session, to its Standing Committee.

## Article 31

The State Council is composed of the following members:

The premier;  
The vice-premiers;  
The ministers; and  
The ministers heading the commissions.

The premier presides over the work of the State Council and the vice-premiers assist the premier in his work.

## Article 32

The State Council exercises the following functions and powers:

- (1) To formulate administrative measures, issue decisions and orders and verify their execution, in accordance with the constitution, laws and decrees;
- (2) To submit proposals on laws and other matters to the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee;
- (3) To exercise unified leadership over the work of the ministries and commissions and other organizations under it;
- (4) To exercise unified leadership over the work of local organs of state administration at various levels throughout the country;
- (5) To draw up and put into effect the national economic plan and the state budget;
- (6) To protect the interests of the state, maintain public order and safeguard the rights of citizens;
- (7) To confirm the following administrative divisions: autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities;
- (8) To appoint and remove administrative personnel according to the provisions of the law; and
- (9) To exercise such other functions and powers as are vested in it by the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee.

## Section III

The Local People's Congresses and the  
Local Revolutionary Committees at  
Various Levels

## Article 33

The administrative division of the People's Republic of China is as follows:



- (1) The country is divided into provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government;
- (2) Provinces and autonomous regions are divided into autonomous prefectures, counties, autonomous counties and cities; and
- (3) Counties and autonomous counties are divided into people's communes and towns.

Municipalities directly under the central government and other large cities are divided into districts and counties. Autonomous prefectures are divided into counties, autonomous counties and cities.

Autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are all national autonomous areas.

#### Article 34

People's congresses and revolutionary committees are established in provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties, cities, municipal districts, people's communes and towns.

People's congresses and revolutionary committees of the people's communes are organizations of political power at the grassroots level, and are also leading organs of collective economy.

Revolutionary committees at the provincial level may establish administrative offices as their agencies in prefectures.

Organs of self-government are established in autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties.

#### Article 35

Local people's congresses at various levels are local organs of state power.

Deputies to the people's congresses of provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, counties and cities divided into districts are elected by people's congresses at the next lower level by secret ballot after democratic consultation; deputies to the people's congresses of cities not divided into districts, and of municipal districts, people's communes and towns are directly elected by the voters by secret ballot after democratic consultation.

The people's congresses of provinces and municipalities directly under the central government are elected for a term of five years. The people's congresses of counties, cities and municipal districts are elected for a term of three years. The people's congresses of people's communes and towns are elected for a term of two years.

Local people's congresses at various levels hold at least one session each year, which is to be convened by revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels.

The units and electorates which elect the deputies to the local people's congresses at various levels have the power to supervise, remove and replace their deputies at any time, according to the provisions of the law.

#### Article 36

Local people's congresses at various levels, in their respective administrative areas, ensure the observance and enforcement of the constitution, laws and decrees; ensure the implementation of the state plan; make plans for local economic and cultural development and for public utilities; examine and approve local economic plans, budgets and final accounts; protect public property; maintain public order; safeguard the rights of citizens and the equal rights of minority nationalities; and promote the development of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Local people's congresses may adopt and issue decisions within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law.

Local people's congresses elect, and have the power to recall, members of revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels. People's congresses at county level and above elect, and have the power to recall, the presidents of the People's Courts and the chief procurators of the People's Procuratorates at the corresponding levels.

Deputies to local people's congresses at various levels have the right to address inquiries to the revolutionary committees, People's Courts, People's Procuratorates and organs under the revolutionary committees at the corresponding levels, which are all under obligation to answer.

#### Article 37

Local revolutionary committees at various levels, that is, local people's governments, are the executive organs of local people's congresses at the corresponding levels and they are also local organs of state administration.

A local revolutionary committee is composed of a chairman, vice-chairmen and other members.

Local revolutionary committees carry out the decisions of people's congresses at the corresponding levels as well as the decisions and orders of the organs of state administration at higher levels, direct the administrative work of their respective areas, and issue decisions and orders within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law. Revolutionary committees at county level and above appoint or remove the personnel of organs of state, according to the provisions of the law.

Local revolutionary committees are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels and to the organs of state administration at the next higher level, and work under the unified leadership of the State Council.

#### Section IV

##### The Organs of Self-Government of National Autonomous Areas

## Article 38

The organs of self-government of autonomous regions, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties are people's congresses and revolutionary committees.

The election of the people's congresses and revolutionary committees of national autonomous areas, their terms of office, their functions and powers and also the establishment of their agencies should conform to the basic principles governing the organization of local organs of state as specified in Section III, Chapter Two of the constitution.

In autonomous areas where a number of nationalities live together, each nationality is entitled to appropriate representation in the organs of self-government.

## Article 39

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law, in addition to exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state as specified by the constitution.

The organs of self-government of national autonomous areas may, in the light of the political, economic and cultural characteristics of the nationality or nationalities in a given area, make regulations on the exercise of autonomy and also specific regulations and submit them to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for approval.

In performing their functions, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas employ the spoken and written language or languages commonly used by the nationality or nationalities in the locality.

## Article 40

The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas, take into full consideration the characteristics and needs of the various minority nationalities, make a major effort to train cadres of the minority nationalities, and actively support and assist all the minority nationalities in their socialist revolution and construction and thus advance their socialist economic and cultural development.

## Section V

The People's Courts and the  
People's Procuratorates

## Article 41

The Supreme People's Court, Local People's Courts at various levels and Special People's Courts exercise judicial authority. The People's Courts are formed as prescribed by law.

In accordance with law, the People's Courts apply the system, whereby representatives of the masses participate as assessors in administering justice. With regard to major counterrevolutionary or criminal cases, the masses should be drawn in for discussion and suggestions.

All cases in the People's Courts are heard in public except those involving special circumstances, as prescribed by law. The accused has the right to defence.

#### Article 42

The Supreme People's Court is the highest judicial organ.

The Supreme People's Court supervises the administration of justice by Local People's Courts at various levels and by Special People's Courts; People's Courts at the higher levels supervise the administration of justice by People's Courts at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Court is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local People's Courts at various levels are responsible and accountable to local people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

#### Article 43

The Supreme People's Procuratorate exercises procuratorial authority to ensure observance of the constitution and the law by all the departments under the State Council, the local organs of state at various levels, the personnel of organs of state and the citizens. Local People's Procuratorates and Special People's Procuratorates exercise procuratorial authority within the limits prescribed by law. The People's Procuratorates are formed as prescribed by law.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate supervises the work of Local People's Procuratorates at various levels of Special People's Procuratorates; People's Procuratorates at the higher levels supervise the work of those at the lower levels.

The Supreme People's Procuratorate is responsible and accountable to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee. Local People's Procuratorates at various levels are responsible and accountable to people's congresses at the corresponding levels.

### Chapter Three

#### The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

#### Article 44

All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen have the right to vote and to stand for election, with the exception of persons deprived of these rights by law.

#### Article 45

Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and the freedom to strike, and have the right to "speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates and write big-character posters."



## Article 46

Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

## Article 47

The citizens' freedom of person and their homes are inviolable.

No citizen may be arrested except by decision of a People's Court or with the sanction of a People's Procuratorate, and the arrest must be made by a public security organ.

## Article 48

Citizens have the right to work. To ensure that citizens enjoy this right, the state provides employment in accordance with the principle of overall consideration, and on the basis of increased production, the state gradually increases payment for labour, improves working conditions, strengthens labour protection and expands collective welfare.

## Article 49

Working people have the right to rest. To ensure that working people enjoy this right, the state prescribes working hours and systems of vacations and gradually expands material facilities for the working people to rest and recuperate.

## Article 50

Working people have the right to material assistance in old age, and in case of illness or disability, to ensure that working people enjoy this right, the state gradually expands social insurance, social assistance, public health services, cooperative medical services and other services.

The state cares for and ensures the livelihood of disabled revolutionary army-men and the families of revolutionary martyrs.

## Article 51

Citizens have the right to education. To ensure that citizens enjoy this right, the state gradually increases the number of schools of various types and of other cultural and educational institutions and popularizes education.

The state pays special attention to the healthy development of young people and children.

## Article 52

Citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. The state encourages and assists the creative endeavours of citizens engaged in science, education, literature, art, journalism, publishing, public health, sports and other cultural work.

## Article 53

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and family life. Men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work.

Men and women shall marry of their own free will. The state protects marriage, the family, and the mother and child.

The state advocates and encourages family planning.

## Article 54

The state protects the just rights and interests of Overseas Chinese and their relatives.

## Article 55

Citizens have the right to lodge complaints with organs of state at any level against any person working in an organ of state, enterprise or institution for transgression of law or neglect of duty. Citizens have the right to appeal to organs of state at any level against any infringement of their rights. No one shall suppress such complaints and appeals or retaliate against persons making them.

## Article 56

Citizens must support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system, safeguard the unification of the motherland and the unity of all nationalities in our country and abide by the constitution and the law.

## Article 57

Citizens must take care of and protect public property, observe labour discipline, observe public order, respect social ethics and safeguard state secrets.

## Article 58

It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression.

It is the honourable obligation of citizens to perform military service and to join the militia according to the law.

## Article 59

The People's Republic of China grants the right of residence to any foreign national persecuted for supporting a just cause, for taking part in revolutionary movements or for engaging in scientific work.

## Chapter Four

The National Flag, the National  
Emblem and the Capital

## Article 60

The national flag of the People's Republic of China has five stars on a field of red.

The national emblem of the People's Republic of China is: Tienanmen in the centre, illuminated by five stars and encircled by ears of grain and a cogwheel.

The capital of the People's Republic of China is Peking.

## First Session Closes

OWO51228Y Peking NCNA in English 1225 GMT 5 Mar 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 5 Mar (HSINHUA)--The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress successfully completed its tasks and closed in triumph here today. The congress unanimously adopted "The Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and unanimously approved a resolution on the report on the work of the government.

The congress unanimously elected Comrade Yeh Chien-ying chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The congress, unanimously approving the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, decided on Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as premier of the State Council.

The session was convened in the Great Hall of the People. Attending the closing ceremony and seated at the front of the rostrum were Executive Chairmen of the Presidium Hua Kuo-feng, Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien, Wang Tung-hsing, Soong Ching-ling, Nieh Jung-chen, Ulanfu, Wu Te, Wei Kuo-ching, Chen Yun, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Saifudin, Liao Cheng-chih, Chi Peng-fei, Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Te-heng and Hu Chueh-wen. When they mounted the rostrum, the entire hall burst into thunderous and prolonged applause.

At 3:00 pm the executive chairman of the meeting, Teng Hsiao-ping, declared it open.

After adopting the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the resolution on the report on the work of the government, the congress elected the chairman, vice-chairmen, secretary-general and other members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, decided on the choice of the premier of the State Council on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, elected the president of the Supreme People's Court and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. On the recommendation of the premier of the State Council, it decided on the choice for other members of the State Council, for the president of the Academy of Sciences of China and for the president of the Academy of Social Sciences of China. When it was announced that Comrade Yeh Chien-ying had been elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Comrade Hua Kuo-feng premier of the State Council, the hall rang with cheers and there was a prolonged ovation. The congress also approved the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.

During the session, the deputies made a serious discussion of Premier Hua Kuo-feng report on the work of the government, the revised draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying's report on the revision of the Constitution. In their discussions, the deputies voiced warm support for the reports by Comrades Hua Kuo-feng and Yeh Chien-ying and for the revised draft of the constitution. They actively put forth proposals and suggestions for revision, many of which have already been adopted. The deputies held extensive deliberations and consultations during the choice of leading state personnel. They also warmly discussed the national anthem of the People's Republic of China.

The congress passed the resolution on the report on the work of the government, calling on the people of all nationalities throughout the land to rally still closer round the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, to hold high Chairman Mao's great banner, to implement firmly the line of the 11th National CCP Congress, to fulfill the fighting tasks in the political, economic, cultural and military fields and in foreign affairs raised in the report on the work of the government and to strive for great success within the 3 years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land. The resolution called for a determined effort to carry out the outline of the ten-year plan for the development of the national economy, to fulfill the behest of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou on building our country into a great, modern socialist state within the century and to contribute more to mankind.

3,460 deputies attended today's meeting, all smiling and in high spirits. At 4:00 pm, the elections started. The 10,000-seat auditorium of the Great Hall of the People was brightly lit. Beaming with smiles and in high spirits, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng walked over to the red ballot box engraved with the national emblem and deposited the first ballot. All present rose in a thunderous ovation. Then, Vice-Chairmen Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing and other executive chairmen of the session's Presidium deposited their ballots amidst warm applause. Then, one by one, all NPC deputies cast their votes. These advanced workers and labour heroes from the frontier and coastal areas, from the cities and the countryside, from the frontlines of industry, agriculture, science, culture and education, and the deputies from among the PLA commanders and fighters and all other fields, solemnly deposited their ballots in 30 ballot boxes at different parts of the spacious auditorium, exercising their right as masters of the country to elect state leaders on behalf of the 800 million people of the whole country.

At 7:00 pm, after the session had completed the agenda for today, Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping said: The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress has successfully completed its tasks. We have held a meeting of unity, a meeting of victory. He declared the session closed in victory. A military band played the national anthem, which was followed by a prolonged standing ovation.



## Report on Resolution

OWO60828Y Peking NCNA in English 0820 GMT 6 Mar 78 OW

[Excerpts] Peking, 6 Mar (HSINHUA)--A resolution of the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress approving Premier Hua Kuo-feng's report on the work of the government was published here today.

The resolution calls on the people of all nationalities to strive to accomplish all the fighting tasks, political, economic, cultural, military and diplomatic, set forth in the report so as to win marked success within three years in grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, fulfill the outline of the ten-year plan for the development of the national economy, transform China into a great modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity.

It points out that the report on the work of the government made by Premier Hua Kuo-feng on behalf of the State Council "explicitly sets forth the tasks, specific as well as general, for our people in the new period of the country's development, comprehensively and correctly embodies Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and fully reflects the common desires and fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities. It is a programmatic document which will guide the work of our government and the common efforts of our people for some time to come".

The resolution fully endorses the outline of the ten-year plan for the development of the national economy, 1976-1985, formulated by the State Council and holds that the outline is "dynamic and sound and can be fulfilled or even overfulfilled through hard work".

## State Council Membership

OWO51736Y Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese 1404 GMT 5 Mar 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 5 Mar--The first session of the Fifth NPC on 5 March 1978 decided on the composition of other personnel of the State Council upon the recommendation of Hua Kuo-feng, premier of the State Council. They are:

Vice Premier Teng-Hsiao-ping  
 Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien  
 Vice Premier Hsu Hsiang-chien  
 Vice Premier Chi Teng-kuei  
 Vice Premier Yu Chiu-li  
 Vice Premier Chen Hsi-lien  
 Vice Premier Keng Piao  
 Vice Premier Chen Yung-kuei  
 Vice Premier Fang I  
 Vice Premier Wang Chen  
 Vice Premier Ku Mu  
 Vice Premier Kang Shih-en [1660 0013 1869]  
 Vice Premier Chen Mu-hua  
 Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua  
 Minister of National Defense Hsu Hsiang-chien  
 Minister in Charge of State Planning Commission Yu Chiu-li  
 Minister in Charge of the State Economic Commission Kang Shih-en [1660 0013 1869]  
 Minister in Charge of the State Capital Construction Commission Ku Mu  
 Minister in Charge of the State Scientific and Technological Commission Fang I  
 Minister in Charge of the Nationalities Affairs Commission Yang Ching-jen [2799 7234 0088]

Minister of Public Security Chao Tsang-pi [6392 5547 1084]  
 Minister of Civil Affairs Cheng Tzu-hua [4453 1311 5478]  
 Minister of Foreign Trade Li Chiang  
 Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries Chen Mu-hua  
 Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Yang Li-kung [2799 4539 0501]  
 Minister of Metallurgical Industry Tang Ko  
 Minister of the First Ministry of Machine Building Chou Tzu-chien [0719 1311 0256]  
 Minister of the Second Ministry of Machine Building Liu Wei [0491 0251]  
 Minister of the Third Ministry of Machine Building Lu Tung [0712 2639]  
 Minister of the Fourth Ministry of Machine Building Wang Cheng [3769 6154]  
 Minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building Chang Chen [1728 3791]  
 Minister of the Sixth Ministry of Machine Building Chai Shu-fan [2693 2885 5672]  
 Minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building Sung Jen-chung [1345 0117 4522]  
 Minister of Coal Industry Hsiao Han  
 Minister of Petroleum Industry Sung Chen-ming [1345 2182 2494]  
 Minister of Chemical Industry Sun Ching-wen [1327 2417 2429]  
 Minister of Water Conservancy and Power Chien Cheng-ying  
 Minister of Textile Industry Chien Chih-kuang [6929 0037 0342]  
 Minister of Light Industry Liang Ling-kuang [2733 7227 0342]  
 Minister of Railways Tuan Chun-i [3008 0689 3015]  
 Minister of Communications Yeh Fei  
 Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Chung Pu-hsiang  
 Minister of Finance Chang Ching-fu  
 President of the People's Bank of China Li Pao-hua [2621 5508 5478]  
 Minister of Commerce Wang Lei [3769 4320]  
 Director of the All China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives Chen Kuo-tung  
 [7115 0948 2767]  
 Minister of Culture Huang Chen [7806 6966]  
 Minister of Education Liu Hsi-yao  
 Minister of Public Health Chiang I-chen [3068 0001 4176]  
 Minister in Charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission Wang Heng

Presidium of the first session of the PRC's Fifth National People's Congress, 5 March 1978, Peking

#### Standing Committee Membership

OW051332Y Peking MCNA in English 1309 GMT 5 Mar 78 OW

[Text] Peking, 5 Mar (HSINHUA)--The Fifth National People's Congress elected 175 members to its Standing Committee here this afternoon. They are (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames):

Tsai-tan Cho-ma (female), Ma Chun-ku, Ma Heng-chang, Ma Hao-chien, Wang Yu-kuei, Wang Ping, Wang Yung-hsing, Wang Yeh-chiu, Wang Kun-lun, Wang Chien-an, Wang Kan-chang, Wang Yao-hua (f.), Ou Tang-liang (f.), Pei Shih-chang, Mao Ti-chiu, Fang Chih-chun, Pa I-kai, Pa Chin, Pa Sang [1572 2718] (f.), Teng Chu-min, Teng Tien-tao, Kan Tzu-chang, Shih Chung-chin (f.), Lu Sheng-ho, Yeh Sheng-tao, Shih Lai-ho, Shih Liang (f.), Pei Shou-i, Chi Chang-shan, Pa Chun-tzu [2613 2504 1311] (f.), Pi Kuo (f.), Lu Yu-lan (f.), Lu Shu-hsiang, Lu Chi, Chu Liang-Tsai, Chu Hsueh-fan, Chu Yun-shan, Jen Hsin-min, Hua Lo-keng, Hsiang La-yu (f.), Chuang Hsi-chuan, Liu Ta-nien, Liu Fei, Chi Tzu-sheng, Chiang Li-yin, Hsu Chieh, Hsu Ti-hsin, Na-mu-la Yen Chi-tzu [6719 2606 2139 0917 3444 1964], Ko-yu-ma Mai-ti-ni-ya-tzu [0344 1429 2606 6314 2251 1441 3660 1320], Su Pu-ching, Li Feng-lan (f.), Li Chen (f.), Li Yen-lu, Li Chang, Li Jui-huan, Li Fu-chung, Li Chu-kuei, Yang Tung-chun, Yang Hsiu-feng, Yang Shang-kuei, Yang Mo (f.), Yang Yung, Hsiao Ching-kuang, Wu Hsien-feng, Wu Leng-hsi, Wu Cheng-ching, Wu Yao-tsung, Wang Yueh-hsia (f.), Sha Chien-li, Shen Hung, Chang Wan-fu, Chang Feng-yun (f.), Chang Wen-yu, Chang Cheng-tao, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Chi-lung, Chang Kuo-ching (f.), Chang Ping-kuei, Chang Chin-gang,

Chang Kuei-chen (f.), Chang Ai-ping, Chang Pu-tsai, Chen Yu-niang (f.), Chen Yung-hsiang, Chen Tsai-tao, Chen Tzu-sheng, Chen Hsiao-shun, Chen I-sung, Shao Jung-pin, Wu Yu-pu, Wu Hsin-yu, Fan Chung-chih, Mao I-sheng, Lin I-shan, Lin Chiao-chih (f.), Lin Li-yun (f.), Lin I-ping, Lin Tieh, Ouyang Chin, Lo Ching-chang, Lo Shu-chang (f.), Lo Jui-ching, Chi Fang, Yueh Mei-chung, Chou Shih-ti, Chou Chan-ao, Chou Li, Chou Shu-tao, Chou Pei-yuan, Shan Hui-hsiang, Pao-jih-le-Tai [1405 2480 0519 1486] (f.), Meng Chi-mao, Chao Chung-yao, Hao Te-ching, Jung I-jen, Hu Tsu-ang, Hu Chiao-mu, Hu Sheng, Hu Yu-chih, Hu Yao-pang, Kuei Pi, Yu Ai-feng (f.), Hung Hsueh-chih, Yao Shih-chang, Yao Mao-chi, Yuan Jen-yuan, Yuan Hsueh-fen (f.), Chin Kuei-hsiang (f.), Hsia Chu-hua (f.), Ku Kang-lo, Chien Hsin-chung, Tieh-mu-erh, Ta-wa-mai [6993 2606 1422 6671 3907 6312], Ni Ku-yin (f.), Kao Ko-lin, Kuo Hua-jo, Kuo Feng-lien (f.), Kuo Shu-shen, Kuo Ying-fu, Tang Tien-chi, Hai Yu-chen, Tao Chih-yueh, Huang Tso-chin, Huang Ping-wei, Huang Jung-chang, Huang Chu-hsiang (f.), Tsao I-ou (f.), Tsao Yu, Tsao Chu-ju, Sheng Wan (f.), Kang Ko-ching (f.), Chang Jui-ying (f.), Yen Te-i, Liang Pi-yeh, Liang Chi-chuan, Peng Ming-chih, Tung Tien-chen, Tung Chi-wu, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Su Yu, Cheng Shih-tsai, Pu Chung, Pu Chiu-tao, Tung Ti-chou, Tseng Sheng, Tseng Chih (f.), Hsieh Tieh-li, Jui Pan, Chu Tu-nan, Chan Tsai-fang, I Shih-chuan (f.), Pei Chang-hui, Tan Yu-pao, Tan Cheng and Fan Te-ling.

[Peking NCHA in English at 1200 GMT 5 March reported that Yeh Chien-ying had been elected unanimously as chairman of the Standing Committee and that the following had been elected as vice chairmen: Soong Ching Ling (female), Nieh Jung-chen, Liu Po-cheng, Ulanfu, Wu Te, Wei Kuo-ching, Chen Yun, Kuo Mo-jo, Tan Chen-lin, Li Ching-chuan, Chang Ting-cheng, Tsai Chang (female), Teng Ying-chao (female), Saifudin, Liao Cheng-chih, Chi Peng-fei, Ngapo Ngawang-jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Te-heng and Hu Chueh-wen. The NCHA report added that Chi Peng-fei had been elected secretary general of the Standing Committee, that Chiang Hua had been elected president of the Supreme People's Court, and that Huang Huo-ching had been elected procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate.]

#### Text of Joint Editorial

OWO51453Y Peking NCHA in English 1444 GMT 5 Mar 78 OW

[Text of 6 March editorial of PEOPLE'S DAILY, RED FLAG and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY hailing successful closing of NPC session]

[Text] Peking, 5 Mar (HSINHUA)--The PEOPLE'S DAILY, the journal RED FLAG and the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY in an editorial dated March 6 hail the successful first session of the Fifth National People's Congress. Entitled "Transform China in the Spirit of the Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," the editorial reads in full:

The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, which has drawn the attention of the world, has come to a triumphant close. It was held in an invigorating atmosphere which greatly inspires our people. It was truly a conference of unity and victory. It will go down for all time in the annals of the Chinese revolution as a great milestone.

The mobilization of the people of all nationalities of China to unite and strive to build a powerful and modern socialist country--this is the main topic of the session. In his report on the work of the government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng, holding high the great banner of Chairman Mao, comprehensively and systematically set out the tasks, principles, policies and measures for building a powerful and modern socialist country. The report explicitly points out: "The general task before our people in the new period of socialist revolution and construction is to carry out firmly the line of the eleventh party congress, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and make China a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century." This general task is laid down in legal form in the new constitution. The outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy lays out a splendid picture of construction for us. A group of long-tested proletarian revolutionaries headed by Chairman Hua has assumed the responsibility for leading the state. This is the reliable organizational guarantee for building a powerful socialist country. The plan has now been ratified, the order issued and an all-round new long march has started toward the great goal of a modern and powerful socialist country!

The first task on our agenda after the conclusion of this congress is to bring home to every person and every household the general tasks in the new period through extensive publicity, study and arousing of the masses. Chairman Mao sharply pointed out: "In the 105 years from the 1840's to the middle of the 1940's, almost all the imperialist countries of the world, whether large, medium or small, committed aggression against our country and waged war against us. Except for the last war, namely, the war of resistance against Japan, which resulted in the surrender of Japanese imperialism owing to internal and external causes, all these wars ended in our defeat and the signing of treaties with humiliating terms. That was due to two factors: First, a corrupt social system and, second, a backward economy and technology. Now our social system has changed and a basic solution has occurred as far as the first factor is concerned. But the solution is still incomplete, because class struggle still exists. There is some change too in regard to the second factor, but it will require several more decades to bring about a complete change. If in the decades to come we don't completely change the situation in which our economy and technology lag far behind those of the imperialist countries, it will be impossible for us to avoid being pushed around again." "In planning our work we should start from the possibility of being attacked and do our utmost to change the backward state of our economy and technology in not too long a period of time, otherwise we will make mistakes." We must help the people understand that carrying out the four modernizations is not only a tremendous task in the economic field, but primarily one of extreme urgency in the political field. It involves whether our economy and national defence are strong enough to deal with possible aggression by social imperialism and imperialism. It involves whether we can consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and constantly raise the level of the material and cultural life of the people, step by step narrow the gap between mental and manual labour, between industry and agriculture and between city and countryside, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. This is a major question involving the vital interests of this generation and generations to come. The masses must be informed of the principles and policies, steps and measures to carry out the general and concrete tasks for each locality and each organization. When the masses know the facts and their own interest, the clear goals ahead and the measures to achieve them, they will concert their efforts and resolutely pool their wisdom and talents and strength for victory.



The key link of class struggle must be firmly grasped from beginning to end to accomplish the general task. Premier Hua pointed out in his report on work of the government: "The primary task for the people of our country at present and for some time to come is still to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' and carry this great struggle through to the end." The gang, which damaged the country and brought calamity to the people, were ferocious enemies of the four modernizations. Inheriting Lin Biao's mantle, the gang whipped up a ultra-"leftist" tendency and anarchism, stirred up armed conflicts and sabotaged production and construction by striking, smashing and looting and by bringing work to a standstill. [Peking NCNA Domestic Service in Chinese on March 5 at 1454 GMT in a similar account of the editorial said "bringing work and production to a standstill."] Like Lin Biao, they distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and forbade mentioning revolution in production and technology. They used charges of "the theory of productive forces" as a big stick with which they wildly attacked the development of production, and even asserted that "the day the four modernizations is realized will be the day capitalism has been restored." We must struggle well in the third campaign to expose and criticize the "gang of four", study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works with a will so as to master our ideological weapon, and continue deepening the criticism of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The gang pushed an ultra-rightist line, a line that went to the extreme right; but the line had various manifestations: At times it was ultra-rightist while on other occasions it was ultra-"leftist". The "gang of four" were very deceptive when they posed as ultra-"leftist". Particular efforts should therefore be made to expose and criticize their counter-revolutionary ultra-"leftist" tactics. We can increase our ability to distinguish between true and sham Marxism, emancipate our minds and take big strides on the road of the new long march only when we strip away the gang's "leftist" cloak, uncover their ultra-rightist essence and clarify right and wrong with regard to theory and line. The fundamental reason for the initial success of the strategic arrangement made by the party committee headed by Chairman Hua for grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing great order across the land lies in our successful battle to expose and criticize the "gang of four". In the new long march, we must carry the struggle to expose and criticize the gang through to the end and be completely successful.

This struggle calls for a well-guided, step-by-step campaign of "two blows", dealing blows at disruptive activities by the class enemy and at wanton attacks by capitalist forces. Our blows should be directed particularly at those new-born bourgeois elements who impair socialist construction and seriously disrupt the socialist public ownership. The new constitution stipulates punishment for new-born bourgeois elements. In this category are many embezzlers, thieves, speculators, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans and smash-and-grabbers who committed serious crimes, and other scoundrels who seriously violated the law and socialist order. [The NCNA Domestic account said "violated the law, discipline and socialist order."] They form an important part of the social basis of the "gang of four" and are the most ferocious urban and rural capitalist forces. Only when dictatorship of the proletariat is imposed on them can we guarantee that the general task will be accomplished smoothly.

It is a great undertaking and a very arduous task to build up a country that accounts for one-fifth of the world's population but is backward economically and culturally into a powerful socialist country and achieve the four modernizations comprehensively within a period of less than one quarter of a century. Our most reliable base is the masses of the people. Provided they are fully aroused, any wonder can be performed.

The mass line is our party's basis line. Our people are a very fine people. They have boundless faith in our party, and great enthusiasm for building a modern, powerful socialist country. Provided we have faith in the masses, rely on them, respect their initiative, listen carefully to their opinions and pay heed to their well-being, their enthusiasm and creativeness can be brought into full play. This means we should apply socialist democracy. The people have the right to administer their country, undertakings and culture and education. It is imperative earnestly to carry out, starting from the grassroots level, democratic management in which the masses take part, and at the same time to strengthen unification and centralization. It is also imperative to combat anarchism, bourgeois factionalism and any act to undermine discipline.

Chairman Mao said: "The transformation and construction of China depend on us for leadership. When we have rectified our way of thinking [the NCNA domestic version omitted "way of thinking"] and style of work, we shall enjoy greater initiative in our work, become more capable and do a better job." We must particularly keep to and develop the style of work of seeking truth from facts to carry out the four modernizations. Seeking truth from facts is the scientific attitude that communists must adopt toward all work. We must advocate honesty in thinking, speech and action and oppose the use of empty words, bragging and lying. We must rouse the real and not sham drive of the people. At present, the socialist enthusiasm of the people is unprecedentedly high and we must treasure this enthusiasm and absolutely should not abuse it or dampen it down. We must combine a revolutionary spirit with a scientific attitude, do things with vigour and vitality but in a down-to-earth way. Only so can the enthusiasm of the masses be sustained and shown effectively, leaving its mark on every step taken in our triumphant march toward our lofty objective.

World history provides many examples of an economically backward country catching up with an economically developed country. Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is even more possible for us to catch up with the developed capitalist countries in a relatively short period. In fact, our economy and science and technology were once advancing at a quite high speed. But interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and particularly the gang of four caused setbacks in the development of our economic construction. The smashing of the gang of four has made it possible to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line smoothly now. In addition, China has an enormous population, a large territory, rich natural resources, the material foundation built in the past two decades and more and both positive and negative experience. In particular, we have our wise leader Chairman Hua and the strong leadership of the party Central Committee headed by him that has forged the closest unity, accumulated rich experience in struggle and maintains close ties with the masses. We have full conditions for building China into a great and powerful socialist country.

At this encouraging and important historic juncture, we are reviewing the speech that Chairman Mao delivered at the closing session of the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. The great plan made at that Congress was to remove the three big mountains which had weighed on the backs of the Chinese people--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Chairman Mao said: "Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution." Faced with the great revolutionary task of making China into a modern and powerful socialist country, we must now also build up the confidence of the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution.

In his report on the work of the government, Premier Hua Kuo-feng pointed out: "We must free ourselves from superstitions, emancipate our mind, be dauntless and revolutionary in the task of 'transforming China in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains', be firm and unyielding, and work hard to reach our great goal through indomitable struggle." Workers, peasants, fighters, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and all patriots! Let us respond to the call of the Fifth National People's Congress, rally more closely round the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Hua, hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, firmly adhere to the line of the 11th national party congress, work energetically to carry out all the fighting tasks for politics, the economy, culture, military and foreign affairs put forward in the report on the work of the government and strive to reach the goal of marked success within three years of grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing great order across the land, fulfill the outline of the 10-year plan for the development of the national economy and accomplish the behests of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou to build China into a great, modern and powerful socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity!

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